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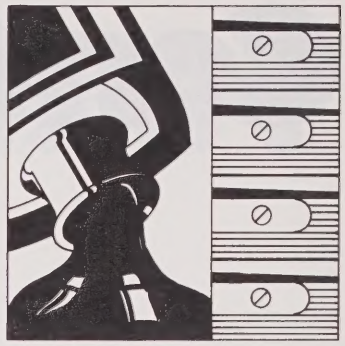
Editorial

TOWARDS NEW FRONTIERS / VERS DE NOUVELLES FRONTIERES



A new current is rising in the horizons across Canada. This current will grow, expand and eventually bring sweeping changes in the conditions and relations experienced by the Canadian people. This current, young but increasingly strong, is known as the national consciousness of Canadian minorities.

As Chinese Canadians celebrate the success of their campaign against W5, Quebecers will decide-- in a referendum to be held on May 20, 1980 -- whether or not to give a mandate to the provincial government to negotiate 'sovereignty-association' with the rest of Canada.

Il n'est pas simplement question d'un "oui" ou d'un "non". Car, quelque soit le résultat final de ce référendum, le statu quo constitutionnel et le partage des pouvoirs entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux ne peut demeurer inchangé après le référendum.

L'atmosphère sera émotivement chargée durant la campagne référendaire, à mesure que les deux camps s'affronteront. Au faîte de la campagne, l'attention sera momentanément éloignée des origines du nationalisme québécois, et ceci jusqu'au lendemain du référendum.

French nationalism in today's Quebec originates from over a century of economic, social and cultural deprivation experienced by French Quebecers, who as minority within Canada finds itself to be a class of secondary citizens denied of certain powers and privileges. The Quiet Revolution of the 60's epitomized the growth and aspiration of modern Quebec. The October Crisis of 1970 dramatized this nationalist movement and exposed the paranoia of English Canada towards Quebec. But it was on November 15, 1976 when the Parti Québécois was elected into office, that Quebec nationalism reached a new stage in its development.

Coming into power posed as champions for French minority rights, the PQ government has not shown itself to be truly and meaningfully sympathetic towards the rights of minorities. We shall not forget the basically chauvinistic nature of Bill 101, the PQ government's language legislation. Nor can we easily forget the virtual abandonment of government responsibility, if not outright negligence, towards minority cultures as espoused in the PQ government's White Paper on Cultural Policy. Meanwhile, the renewed construction of the federal Complexe Guy Favreau and the provincial Convention Centre at the centre of Chinatown further threaten the survival of Montreal's Chinese community, which has already been devastated by over a decade of physical and social disintegration. The Japanese Canadian culture in Quebec is almost extinct, thanks to decades of self-denial and withdrawal superimposed at least in part by external factors. All in all, Asian Quebecers (Asiabécois) still exist in an overall state of deprivation as a result of existing socio-economic conditions, the perpetuation of which does seem to be the intention of political regimes of Quebec up to date, including the Parti Québécois.

In a recent interview with the Asianadian, Quebec's Minister of State for Cultural Development Camille Laurin admits that his government will not actively come to the aid of minorities unless they have come forward "in a united voice"! This policy statement, and the experience of the PQ, reiterates indirectly a viewpoint we have always held: that minorities, including Asianadians and Asiabécois, cannot expect crusaders-- least of all the government -- to come to our aid. Political freedom and economic equality can be won only through tenacious and perservering campaigns. This is an important lesson that Asianadians and in fact all minorities can learn from French Quebecers-- a lesson that perhaps even their leaders have not really and fully understood.

Quelle devrait être la position des Asiabécois dans le référendum?

If we vote yes, we will subject ourselves to give a mandate to the PQ government to negotiate a sovereign nation in which Asiabécois will become minorities in a state dominated by the French majority. If we vote no, we will help to maintain the status quo or a 'renewed federalism'-- whatever this means-- dominated by the English majority, or English-French majorities.

This then becomes clear: Oui ou Non, nous sommes immigrants! Yes or no, we remain minorities and will be subjected to the same conditions inhibiting our cultural, political and socio-economic growth that characterized our past history in Canada and Quebec.

The logical conclusion from this is that we must indeed mind our own business first! This is not to incite cynicism and skepticism in face of the referendum. On the contrary, we advocate that in summarizing the experiences of French Quebecers in their fight against discrimination, and in considering the meaning and significance of the referendum, Asiabécois should look back on our own conditions to fight for equality. Cynicism and isolationism

continues on p. 4

Two Worlds Apart: The Aftermath of Bill 101

Shima Okuda

SPECIAL THANKS TO:

THE SAMUEL AND SAIDYE BRONFMAN FAMILY FOUNDATION

AND ITS MATCHING GRANT

that partially assisted in our printing costs for this special issue,

"Asians in Quebec".

Jiro Yamanaka lives in Montreal. He is nine years old and is a student in an English language school. He was born in Japan but came to Montreal when he was five and has attended English school since that time.

Nobuo Onishi lives in the same neighbourhood. Nobuo's family came to Montreal from Japan in 1976, the same year as Jiro's family. The parents of the boys are close friends and Jiro and Nobuo often play together. However, Nobuo, who is eight, speaks no English. He goes to a French language school.

One wonders why the boys from identical backgrounds and living in the same community attend different schools. The answer can be found in Bill 101, Quebec's language law and how its application affects schooling.

In Jiro's case when it came time for Jiro to enter kindergarten, the year was 1976. The prevailing law ordered all school children who could not speak English to attend French language schools. English instruction was only for those whose "mother tongue" was English. However, there was one proviso-- if Jiro could prove his capacity to learn English by passing a language placement test, he could be admitted to English school. His parents were eager to place him in an English environment. English, they reasoned, was the language of North America. Quebec was only an island of 4.8 million French speaking citizens surrounded by a sea of 250 million English speaking people. An English language education seemed to offer greater mobility and opportunity for the future. After a summer of intensive tutoring, five year old Jiro passed the language test and qualified for English schooling.

The PQ's Language Bill

The following year, 1977, Nobuo was ready for kindergarten. However, by now the government had changed. The Parti Quebecois was in power. The rules for language of instruction had been changed and were governed by Bill 101, the government's language policy. There were no language tests. Bill 101 set out all the rules clearly. Nobuo's parents were anxious for their son to have an English language education, but there was no choice. Admittance to English school in Nobuo's case was limited to:

> *a child whose father or mother received his or her elementary instruction in English in Quebec.* (1)

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Since Nobuo's immigrant parents had been educated in Japan, Nobuo had no other course to follow than to enter French language school.

Last year, 1979, Yoko, Jiro's young sister entered kindergarten. The law which sent Nobuo to French school did not apply in Yoko's case. She was admitted to English school with the regulation as follows:

> *the younger brothers and sisters of a child, described in paragraph "c" a child who, in his last year of school in Quebec before the coming into force of this act, was lawfully receiving his instruction in English, in a public kindergarten class or in an elementary or secondary school.* (2)

Another example of how the law distinguishes between groups of newcomers can be noted in the case of Yoshio. His family came to Montreal from Ontario in 1976. When Yoshio starts school this Fall, he will attend English language school under the provision:

> *a child whose father or mother domiciled in Quebec on the date of the coming into force of this act, received his or her elementary instruction in English outside Quebec.* (3)

For all newcomers arriving in Quebec after the passage of Bill 101, there is yet another regulation:

> *Instruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary schools shall be in French, except where this chapter allows otherwise.* (4)

The law makes no distinction between those from other Canadian provinces, English-speaking countries and immigrants from other nations. Children who may already have had several years of English schooling have to switch to French schools on arrival in Quebec.

Bill 101-- Discriminatory!

The discriminatory aspects of Bill 101 are evident in the fact that it distinguishes between group of newcomers and those persons already resident in Quebec, but whose children have not yet begun school.

Bill 101 not only has repercussions in education but also in public administration, business and culture. Francization programs were introduced to make French the working language and the language of communication. This has resulted in the exodus of many head offices from Quebec to other provinces, especially to Ontario and Alberta. Recruitment of key personnel from outside Quebec has become difficult. Many professionals with school-aged children were reluctant to transfer.

To French-speaking Quebecers, Bill 101 may be the answer to the survival of their language, culture and heritage. To other Quebecers, representing 20% of the total population, the Bill presents implications beyond its intention.

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Notes

1. Quebec (Prov.) Laws, Statutes, etc. *Charter of the French Language (Bill 101)*, Chapter VIII, Sec. 73 (a).
2. *Ibid.* Sec. 73 (d), (c).
3. *Ibid.* Sec. 73 (b).
4. *Ibid.* Sec. 72.

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Shima Okuda

EDITORIAL (CONT'D)

have no part in this fight. The fight against racial inequality requires solidarity among minorities and all progressive elements of society. For if nationalism grows out of social, economic and cultural inequalities, the elimination of the latter necessitates and must result in the elimination of the former. By definition, a truly congenial movement against racism must transcend race lines and seek to unite all possible allies.

Chinese Canadians, in their recent campaign against W5, have set a startling example in this perspective. In their successful campaign, Chinese Canadians have shown the rest of the nation that a minority group can fight for and win its rights and dignity through continuous efforts and by uniting allies both within and outside the Chinese community: universities, politicians, civil rights groups, unions and above all, other minorities in Canada.

This is perhaps not yet a lesson we can learn from Quebecers. But this is the direction we must take if we were to achieve the society 'among equals' that Quebecers aspire for.

Tomorrow's Canada can be a Canada with equality for all-- only if we begin to build it today.

By challenging past and existing inequalities, French Quebecers have contributed immensely to the building of a new Canada-- with or without Quebec. Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the current national consciousness will continue to grow as long as racial inequality perpetuates. French Quebecers have an historical duty to emancipate themselves from the yoke of injustices-- just as Asianadians and Asiabécois have an historical duty to fight for equality and dignity.

Il adviendra, un jour, que toutes les nations vont, ensemble , s'unir contre les conditions, la haine et les préjugés qui opposèrent leurs ancêtres les uns contre les autres. En attendant ce jour, c'est notre devoir à nous tous de continuer chacun nos luttes nécessaires et complémentaires.

La route s'annonce longue et pleine de détours; mais l'avenir glorieux et plein d'espoir. Marchons vers de nouvelles frontières!

- Siukeong Lee

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Filipinos in Quebec

E.A.Ordonez & E.Y. Sayo

Filipinos in Quebec should be seen in the context of Filipino emigration to Canada which began as a trickle in the late fifties and suddenly rose in the early seventies. By 1973, a year after martial law was declared in the Philippines, there were about 32,000 Filipinos in Canada. By 1977, the number was about 60,000. The peak years of Filipino immigration were 1973, 1974, and 1975. Had it not been for restrictions imposed on immigration by 1975, subsequent years would have registered record highs. Despite these restrictions, the Canadian embassy in Manila is swamped by applications to enter Canada.

Emigration: Sign of Economic Deterioration

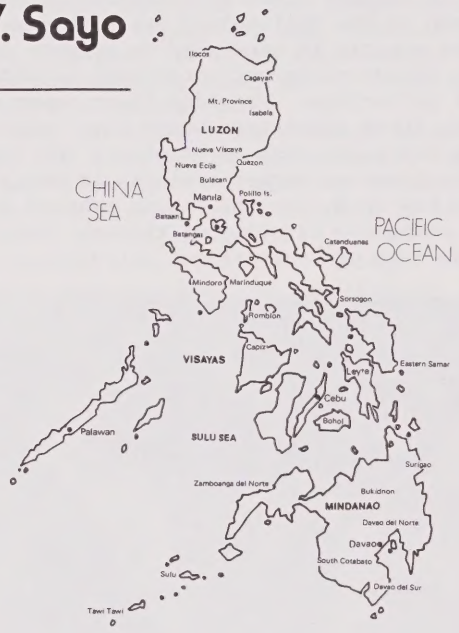
Emigration, as one Filipino economist in Montreal noted in the *Filipino Forum*, is an undeniable sign of economic deterioration. He said that Filipino migration to North America far outnumbers any such figures from such countries as Malaysia, Thailand, or even Indonesia. In the fifties and sixties, U.S. and Canadian embassies in Manila were not beseiged as they are now by long lines of prospective emigrants. He then cited four economic problems most developing countries face-- overpopulation, high employment, a currency weakened both domestically and internationally, and inequitable income and wealth distribution.

He pointed out that despite relatively favorable economic conditions in Canada, many Filipinos consider their decision to migrate a "tremendous sacrifice" and that given a choice, they would rather stay home--close to family and friends and unburdened by the problems of restarting in an alien and heterogenous society. If these complaints are valid, he said, then most Filipinos still entertain hopes of returning to the Philippines. But, he asked, what are the propects that living conditions in the Philippines will improve? And, what has Marcos' "New Society" achieved in that direction?

His answers to the questions are negative: "The loss of individual rights and freedom has been too high a price to pay. The prospects for economic development remain dim". In other words, the one-man rule imposed ostensibly to save the country is, in fact, leading it to further economic ruin.

The Economy and Martial Law

Today, after more than seven years of martial law, the Philippines has an external debt of around $10 billion; 80% of Filipinos suffer from malnutrition; inflation rate has risen over 200% since 1972 when martial law was declared; unemployment has swelled to 47% of a 24 million labour force. In Manila, 83% of the people live in dilapidated houses, 33% are slum dwellers, and squatters have increased from 10% in 1963 to 20% in 1975. And these are just a few economic signs.



Emigration to Canada

Is it any wonder that many Filipinos want to leave their country? At one time, most of those who applied for emigration were professionals: nurses, commerce graduates, engineers, medical technologists, medical doctors, pharmacists, dentists, and agriculturalists Of late, there appears to be a trend for more blue collar workers and non-professionals: textile and garment workers, mechanics, machinists, and domestic helpers.

It has been pointed out that were it not for the dollar remittances sent to their relatives by more than 1½ million Filipinos now living and working abroad, the Philippine economy would have collapsed sooner. Of course, massive U.S. economic and military aid to the martial law regime has, so far, prevented it from falling apart. But these are simply delaying tactics. Resistance to the U.S. supported regime had grown and deepened in the last seven years. The next five years are regarded as crucial.

Filipinos in Quebec and the Resistance

At this juncture, we may well ask: what role have Filipinos in Quebec (who number considerably less than their counterparts in Ontario and British Columbia) played in supporting the growing resistance to the Marcos regime. Primarily because of the deteriorating economic conditions in the Philippines, Filipinos in Quebec are on the whole opposed to one-man rule in their country. Some see the superficial benefits of martial law such as cleaner streets in Manila, new garish structures such as hotels built by Marcos' relatives and cronies, shopping centres, parks and monuments to the "New Society". But ultimately, even the initially impressed "balikbayan"

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(Filipino visitor to his home country) must ask the question: *"Can you eat all these things?"* For the Filipino returnee knows that relatives and friends who are unable to leave the country have to make do with very low wages ($1.50 minimum/day) and the high cost of living. A university professor in Manila has to hold two other jobs to support his family. Everyone, young or old, in a Filipino home has to help augment the family income.

The kinds of support given by Filipinos in Quebec to the resistance in the Philippines are both passive and active. Passive support is expressed in private denunciations of the dictatorship and occasional attendance at anti-martial gatherings. Provided their names are not made public, these supporters would give contributions to fund-raising campaigns such as carolling for families of political detainees or worker seminars in Manila. Prudence is the key word, for the Marcos embassy in Ottawa has warned the community directly or through their agents here against any type of "subversive" activity.

Philippine Ambassador, Ramon del Rosario & Ex-P.M., Joe Clark

The embassy also makes its presence felt in the community by sending its officials to collect taxes from Filipinos who would like to renew their Philippine passports, or to induct into office newly elected officers of a Filipino association. Invariably, during the association's annual Philippine independence balls, the ambassador or his emissary extols the virtues of the "New Society".

Filipino Canadian Response to "Martial Law" in Canada

One response to this way of extending martial law to the Filipino community in Canada may be seen in the effort of one group splintering away from this Filipino association and forming another association with the avowed purpose of not having anything to do with the embassy. Thus, as Filipino Canadians, they feel that they don't have to invite an embassy official to induct their officers or guest at their own independence ball on June 12.

Active support for the resistance movement in the Philippines is demonstrated by at least three known Filipino groups. The first two uphold the Ten-Point programme of the National Democratic Front which is a broad Philippine alliance of classes and sectors opposed to the Marcos regime. The third group is devoted to the restoration of civil liberties in the Philippines. Of the former, one is affiliated with an international overseas support group known as the Alliance for Philippine National Democracy. The other is a chapter of a U.S. based Filipino support organization.

One of two Filipino community newspapers is openly against martial law in the Philippines. The other tries to present a "balanced" picture of the happenings in the Philippines. A recent issue included an interview with Professor John Humphrey of McGill University who co-authored a scathing report on torture and other violations of human rights under the Marcos regime for the International Commission of Jurists. Recently, a national democratic support group has come out with a newsletter, *Binhi* that deals almost exclusively with the people's resistance against the Marcos dictatorship.

The national democratic support movement in Montreal may well have begun in 1974 when newly arrived Filipino expatriates linked up with an anti-imperialist committee supporting Third World liberation struggles. An ad hoc committee was formed to organized a conference on the Philippines that invited U.S. based support groups with the help of the anti-imperialist committee. Out of this conference, new contacts were developed among Filipinos in Montreal that resulted in the formation of a support group in Montreal. Eventually this group linked up with other support groups in Toronto so that by 1975, the embassy in Ottawa started to see picket signs at its doorstep, particularly during the September 21 anniversary of martial law.

A trade house in Montreal being developed by the Marcos government and the regime-supported *Balikbayan* Road Show (a propaganda, through entertainment group) were likewise picketed. When the ambassador visited Montreal to personally attend to the tax collection and renewal of passports, he was met with picket signs denouncing martial law. The support group has had regular information meetings with the community and Canadian supporters on developments in the resistance front. Carolling campaigns to raise funds for families of political prisoners, the workers in Manila, and refugees in the Philippines have become annual activities. Financial response from the community has increasingly been very good.

Marcos

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Martial Law: Not Popular!

Through their meetings with Filipinos families in these campaigns, the support group could find the basis for saying that martial law is not popular in the community. Despite their small number, support activists are able to generate widespread direct support for the resistance in the Philippines. At least one of their leading members has been harassed by the R.C.M.P. that has contacts with the embassy of the Philippines. The embassy, in fact, keeps a resident NISA (National Intelligence and Security Agency-- not different from SAVAK), but this has not deterred the activists from doing support work. And they do it within the framework of the legitimate exercise of their civil rights as Filipino Canadians.

Support activists are also concerned with the rights of Filipino immigrants in Quebec. They closely monitor any instance of violation of the rights of ethnic minorities, including the Filipino community. They work in solidarity with Canadian groups devoted to the protection of immigrant rights. Filipino seamen involved in strike actions in Montreal against shipowners refusing to pay just wages are given moral support within the Filipino community. Occasionally, the embassy's labour attache came out and tried to talk the seamen out of striking, but these seamen have won victories in Montreal and Vancouver. They have shown a high level of worker solidarity developed through years of struggles in the Philippines in the midst of severe repression (e.g. nabbing of strikes, arrest and torture of union leaders and members, and assassinations of union leaders).

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The Ten-Point Programme

Since the struggle in the Philippines is much more intense than the local struggles, activists consider support work as their primary task for the national democratic movement. They are guided by the Ten-Point Programme of the National Democratic Front. One of the guidelines involves uniting with all peoples fighting imperialism and seeking their support for the Philippine revolutionary struggle. They subscribe to the analysis that in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society like the Philippines, the three main enemies of the Filipino people are American imperialism, domestic feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

When the Philippines formally became independent, it got the trappings of independence, but substantially remained a colony. The American colonial rulers saw to it that the country would continue to be a cheap source of labour and raw materials. In fact, it continues to be a dumping ground for U.S. finished products as well as an ideal base for American investments. Internally, they accomplished this by introducing a political system that would primarily serve the interests of the U.S. and the local elite while disregarding the basic aspirations of the majority of the people, especially the clamor for land by the peasants who constitute up to 75% of the population. Thus, you have a system that claims to be democratic in form, but oligarchic in essence. Externally, the U.S. government saw to it that military bases were established in strategic areas of the country to be used not only as a springboard for intervention in that part of the world, but also as a protection for U.S. business interests in the Philippines. It is in these terms that the Philippines can be described as a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

Emancipation= Democratic Revolution

To achieve genuine economic and political emancipation, the Filipino people must wage both a national and democratic revolution. "National", in the sense that it must do away with foreign or U.S. control of the economy and politics of the Philippines. By "democratic", it is meant that this revolution must fulfill the primary aspirations of the people, especially in the demand for land by the peasants and settlers who constitute the majority of the population.

The Ten-Point Programme of the National Democratic Front seeks to unite all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to overthrow the U.S.-based Marcos dictatorship and work for the re-establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

Sustained information work on the NDF programme as an alternative to the U.S.- based Marcos dictatorship is conducted by national democratic support groups in Montreal. Despite strong temptations to insulate themselves from the realities of the Philippine situation, Filipinos in Quebec (as in any place where there are support groups) are compelled to look beyond their relatively comfortable lives and confirm these realities of a life and death struggle in the Philippines from relatives and friends back home.

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E.A. Ordonez has taught English in the Philippines. He is an instructor at Concordia University, Montreal now on sabbatical. Mr Ordonez and Mr Sayo are active members of the Anti (Marcos) Martial Law movement in Montreal.

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The Quebec Referendum and the Chinese People

William Tse

As a Chinese Canadian in Quebec, I've lived through the "quiet revolution" of the sixties, the FLQ October Crisis in 1970 and the coming to power of the Parti Quebecois nationalist government in 1976. Many of us as an ethnic minority in Quebec have been trying to understand this new upsurge in the Quebec nationalist movement and are indeed asking, "What do the Quebec people want? What does this all mean for us Chinese Canadians?"

Quebec is an Oppressed Nation

The important thing that I've come to realize is that the Quebec people constitute a nation-- an oppressed nation within Canada. There are many that view Quebec as "just another province" or just a "language group". However, the history of Canada shows shows otherwise.

With the conquest of New France by British colonists in 1760, the people of French origin found themselves in a dominated position. With the development of capitalism and the elimination of pre-industrial economic relations, the English Canadian and Quebecois nations took shape in Canada. As early as the first half of the 19th century, Quebec was already:

> a historically evolved stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.

The rebellions of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada were a turning point in achieving the independence and elite democracy of the two nations. In Lower Canada, the fight was against a national oppression which hit the Quebecois nation in a harsher and more cruel way than Upper Canada. The Quebec people was continually subjected to attempts at forced assimilation (like Lord Durham's report of 1841 which recommended the forcible assimilation of French Canadians).

Confederation in 1867 formally granted independence to Canada. Right from the beginning, Quebec was denied the right to self-determination-- i.e. the right to decide to come into Canada or not. It was integrated into Canada without any consultation. It was never recognized as a nation which should have equal rights with the English Canadian nation. In fact, Quebec is not even mentioned in the BNA act nor the rights of minorities such as the native people. Thus, confederation established the English Canadian nation as the dominant nation in order to consolidate and expand the financial interests of the economic elite in central Canada.

Throughout the history of this "unequal union" the Quebec nation fiercely resisted against national oppression. During World War I, the Quebec people opposed conscription that was imposed on them without any consultation by the Canadian government. During the 1960's , they fought against other forms of oppression, such as cheap labour and especially around the teaching of language and other inequalities in the school system-- tactics used to assimilate the Quebec people.

In the last 20 years, a powerful national movement has been developing. However, this movement is being led by the economic elites of Quebec that want to strengthen its own economic interests.

Quebec, as an oppressed nation, should have the right to self-determination, including the right to separate from Canada. Chinese Canadians should support this right of the Quebec people. As an ethnic minority in Canada fighting for our rights, we must confront the same system and the same forces that are denying the Quebec people their democratic rights. CTV which is owned by the English corporate elite like John Basset produces programs attacking the rights of the Quebecois as well as the Chinese people in Canada. We can fight for our own rights against discrimination and racism in the same way as the Quebec people are doing.

Chinese Canadians: An Ethnic Minority in Canada

Chinese immigrants first came to British Columbia during the 1850's. They were attracted by the Fraser River gold rush. They came from California where they had gone ten years earlier to escape the grinding poverty of China-- a malaise perpetuated by foreign domination and feudal oppression.

What they found in Canada was not the promised "gold mountain". Instead, they found naked racism, terrible working conditions, low wages, and the worst jobs.

From 1881 to 1884, 15,000 Chinese workers were literally imported into Canada to serve as cheap labour in the construction of the CPR which helped to expand Canada into the west. Living in miserable conditions, earning starvation wages, they built

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the tracks with their sweat and blood-- over 10% died on the way.

The government at the time viewed Chinese workers merely as temporary cheap labour to be deported the minute that the railway was completed. To cut down the number of Chinese, the government refused the entry of all Chinese women into Canada. It also strictly forbade relations between Chinese men and white women.

To deny the Chinese their democratic rights, a whole series of racist laws were passed. Some of these were the "head taxes", exclusion from certain jobs, and the Exclusion Act of 1923. Indeed, Chinese Canadians could vote only in 1947 even after fighting in the two World Wars. In other aspects of daily life, such as housing, the Chinese were faced with constant discrimination and racism.

Faced with these conditions, the Chinese people in Canada were neither assimilated into English Canada nor into Quebec. The rewards of contributing to the growth of Canada and Quebec have been minimal.

Concentrated in Canada's major cities, the Chinese people today constitute a viable ethnic minority. It was formed historically through long years of development and struggle against injustice and inequality on Canadian soil.

Chinese Canadians Uniting for Our Rights

With the worsening economic crisis, Chinese Canadians are facing greater political and economic discrimination. It takes on subtle forms through discrimination on the job and low wages or blatant forms like the W-5 "Campus Giveaway" program. The media has also been whipping up hatred against the Chinese and other Asians in Canada by its racist attacks on the Vietnamese "boat people".

The National Citizens Coalition whose Board of Directors include executives from MacMillan-Bloedel (until recently 13.4% owned by our old friend the CPR) and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, took out full page ads to spread its racist propaganda last fall. Journalists like Doug Collins of the *Vancouver Sun* and Peter Worthington of the *Toronto Sun* are screaming that the "white English Canadian nation is threatened" by non-white Third World immigrants.

A National Consciousness

Over the past two years, a national consciousness throughout the Chinese communities across Canada has been developing. The recent catalyst is the biased W-5 program on "foreign students". Thousands of Chinese Canadians have demonstrated in the streets. Anti-W-5 committees have been established in 16 Canadian cities from Victoria to Halifax bringing about a unity never seen before in the Chinese communities. At the same time, Chinese Canadians are getting together with other ethnic groups who are faced with the same injustice and inequalities. Chinese Canadians are supporting Black Canadians and Black immigrants in demanding justice in the killing of Albert Johnson, a Jamaican immigrant. Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, whites, and Native people marched together in the anti-racism demonstration last October in Toronto.

Regional Autonomy for Chinese Canadians

The present status quo politics of multiculturalism being pushed by the federal government does not recognize our national rights, just as it does not recognize the national rights of the Quebec people to self-determination.

As an ethnic national minority in Canada, Chinese Canadians should have the democratic right to regional autonomy in areas where we are concentrated, like Vancouver Chinatown.

Regional autonomy means having an autonomous government in charge of local affairs to protect and develop our language and cultural rights as well as other democratic rights which includes political and territorial rights. Today, Montreal's Chinatown is threatened with destruction by the Place Guy Favreau project which will disrupt the social and cultural life of Montreal's Chinese community. Regional autonomy would not allow this to happen.

All oppressed ethnic minorities in Canada should have the right to regional autonomy. Under regional autonomy, the Native people would have control over their land and resources. In the People's Republic of China where 55 national minorities, like the Tibetans, Koreans, and the Moslem Huis live side-by-side with the majority Han nation, the policies of regional autonomy are applied to all the national minorities. All the national minorities are guaranteed absolute equality.

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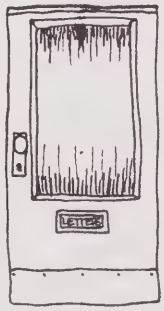
POETS WANTED !

I am editing an anthology of poems written by Asians in Canada and Canadians of Asian heritage, tentatively titled: *Land of the Morning* (a line from the Philippine national anthem). Expected publication date is Spring, 1980. Please send your poems and a brief biography to me.

- Lakshmi Gill



Lakshmi Gill
1114 East 14th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
V5T 2P3

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The Referendum: What are Our Options?

I've shown some basic principles that can guide us in understanding the national question in Quebec and Canada. The future of Canada is at stake in the Quebec referendum. For those of us outside of Quebec, if we are to active in fighting for our rights, we must be active in voicing support for the rights of the Quebec people.

In English Canada, the various federalist forces led by people like Premiers Davis and Lougheed are lining up behind Claude Ryan's no option and taking a tough line in trying to intimidate the Quebec people from fighting for their rights. Both these men say that they will negotiate with Ryan, but not with Levesque. They both maintain that Quebec is just a province and do not recognize any national rights of Quebec.

In an effort to deceive the Canadian people who want to maintain unity, a "people to people" petition is being circulated asking Quebec to stay in Canada. But this petition does not recognize Quebec as a nation not its rights to self-determination.

However, there are many English Canadians who are supporting these basic rights of Quebec. Committees to Defend Quebec's Rights to Self-Determination have been set up in Toronto, Vancouver, and other cities. Chinese Canadians in English Canada should take a stand on this question and denounce the federalist forces that are attacking the Quebec people as well as attacking our own rights.

For Chinese Canadians in Quebec, should we vote "yes" or "no"? Before we answer that question, we should analyse what each of these options has to offer to the Quebec people and to the Chinese people in particular.

The "No Option" Means the Status Quo

Claude Ryan's constitutional proposals for a "renewed federalism" does not recognize Quebec as a nation. Ryan's Quebec Liberal party, like the other federalist parties, considers Quebec to be just another province. Ryan's "Beige Paper" may give greater decentralization from Ottawa, play around with the division of power to give "greater equality between the provinces", but it does not tackle the basic question of eqaulity of nations and the right to self-determination of the Quebec people. Ryan may even have the problem of selling his decentralization scheme since his old nemesis, Pierre Trudeau is back on the scene. Trudeau, as an ardent centralist, is well known.

Ryan's "No Option" is just a continuation of the federalist politics which oppresses the Quebec people and maintains the inequalities that are used to divide the different ethnic minorities.

The federalism of Ryan, Joe Clark, and Trudeau, while denying Quebec's rights as a nation, has nothing to offer the oppressed ethnic minorities like the Native people and the Chinese Canadians. In fact, the Canadian government's politics of "multilingualism" and "multiculturalism" continue to rob the Native people of their land and resources. It has not recognized any land claims of the Native people not their rights to autonomy over their land, culture, and economic development. It is the same system that threatens to destroy Montreal's Chinatown and forsters racist campaigns against the Vietnamese refugees and racist programs like W-5.

That is why the "No Option" alternative is impossible to support. For supports means the continuing the status quo and the constant oppression of the Quebec people and other ethnic minorities.

The Parti Quebecois and the "Yes Option"

The PQ mainly represents the Quebec commercial interests who want to develop and consolidate its hold on Quebec. With its coming to power in 1976, the PQ leads the nationalist movement in Quebec. It identifies English Canada and English Canadians as the main enemies of the Ouebec people and not the economic system that is actually responsible for national oppression. In fact, the PQ like the Liberals upholds the economic mainstream. It does not want to change the system, but rather to transfer the powers of exploitation from the Canadian monopolies in order to strengthen the Quebecois corporate elite. In order to build up Quebec's economy, the PQ has asked the Quebec workers to tighten their belts "for the interest of the nation".

The PQ is taking a step by step approach to independence in order to stay in power. Opinion polls show that only 23% of Quebecois want independence. That is why the PQ has chosen a deceitful question for the referendum. The referendum question does not allow the Quebec people to exercise their right to self-determination. It does not ask whether the Quebec people want to stay in Canada or not, nor does it offer any constitutional option. It just asks the people of Quebec to give the PQ a "mandate"-- a blank cheque to negotiate with Ottawa.

The PQ does not serve the interest of the Quebec working people nor the ethnic minorities in Quebec. In fact, the PQ has done nothing to eliminate the inequalities faced by the Ouebec people while taking discriminatory positions against the ethnic minorities in Quebec.

For example, health and welfare spending in Ouebec has decline (from 31.1% to 28%) since the PQ came to power. French speaking workers still have to work in English in such multinational companies as Pratt & Whitney if they want to advance in their jobs. English Canadian businesses still maintain their privileges. On the other hand, the PQ anti-democratic language Bill 101 does not protect the rights of ethnic minorities, but in fact removes the rights of the Native people as well as the Chinese Canadians to choose the language of education for their children. Furthermore, the PQ has strengthened its government monopoly, Hydro Quebec which has robbed huge tracts of land around James Bay from the Native people of Canada.

"Sovereignty Association" and the Chinese

The PQ's plan for separation actually does not eliminate the inequalities faced by the vast majority of Quebecois. If it does nothing for its own people, what can it do for ethnic minorities like the Native people and the Chinese people of Quebec?

*****

William Tse *who came to Canada at an early age has an M.Eng. in Mechanical Engineering.*

THE W5 MOVEMENT

CHEUK KWAN

April 16, 1980 was an important date in the history of racial minorities in Canada. On that day, the CTV Television Network made a full public apology to the Chinese Canadians on a racist and distorted programme that the network aired last fall. "We sincerely apologize for the fact that Chinese Canadians were depicted as foreigners...", network president Murray Chercover said in the public apology, "and for whatever distress this stereotyping may have caused them in the context of our multicultural society."

On September 30 last year, CTV's W5 public affairs programme broadcasted a segment entitled "Campus Giveaway". The item alleged that foreign students, mainly of Chinese descent, were taking away the places of Canadians in the universities. It made no distinction between Chinese foreign students and Canadian students of Chinese descent who may be third-generation Canadians. The presentation of the programme was "racist in tone and effect". It focused on a particular group of minorities, the Chinese Canadian, and in essence, labelled them as foreigners. Furthermore, university community and immigration officials were quick to point out that the foreign student statistics were "grossly distorted and inaccurate." (Ed.note: see also "The Foreign Threat That Never Was!" by Kwan, Asianadian Vol 2, No. 3.)

The uproar from the Chinese community was unexpected and unprecedented. Following the programme's airing, five students from the Chinese Students Association of the University of Toronto filed a libel and slander suit against CTV and W5's producers. In late November, the "Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario Against W5" was formed in Toronto to protest the programme. Thirteen committee members and over six hundred volunteers from Toronto's Chinese community worked unrelentlessly to publicize the issue

and to raise funds for the anticipated legal expense.

Through persistence and perseverence, the "Campus Giveaway" issue was finally made known to a great part of the Chinese community and to the Canadian public at large. Support came from politicians, government agencies, as well as ethnic communities. The black, south Asian, Japanese and the Jewish communities, who have all faced racial injustices in the past, have been most supportive in the issue. Ad hoc committees against W5 were also formed across the country, starting with Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver.

On Saturday, January 26, more than a thousand people crowded the auditorium and eight classrooms in the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto to attend a mass rally organized by the Ad Hoc Committee. The audience were greeted by speeches and statement from twenty politicians, ethnic and civil rights leaders. Heading the list of politicians were Toronto's mayor John Sewell and MP's Bob Rae and Bob Kaplan. Mayor Sewell has been hailed as "a champion of minorities in Toronto" by the city's press; Rae and Kaplan represent, respectively, ridings with heavy Chinese and Jewish population.

More colourful speeches came from various ethnic and civil rights spokesperson. Bromley Armstrong, the outspoken Ontario Human Rights Commissioner at that time, condemned the W5 programme and urged for more ethnic representation in the media. "Let us take a cue from CKEY and CITY-TV," Armstrong urged, "and let's put some of our own people up there in the media so that we can say, at last, we've made it." Dr. Wilson Head, president of the National Black Coalition reminded the audience that the Chinese was the only ethnic group who ever had a head tax placed on them. Head went on to say that "CTV may have inadvertently did you all a favour in arousing you to fight back." Professor George Bancroft from the Faculty of Education would not give the CTV programme an A, B, C, D or F grade. He would give it a P. "P for pollution... anything that pollutes must be cleaned up.... anything that pollutes the mind must be eradicated."

At the end of the hour and a half rally, those inside the rally were joined by a thousand more people for a mile and a half march down Bloor Street to CTV's headquarters. The protest march of 2,500 people was the largest in Chinese Canadian history.

When the marchers reached CTV office, a formal protest letter was delivered. It outlined three demands from the Ad Hoc Committee: a full public apology from the network for the racist nature of the programme, reparation of the damages done, and a committment from the network not to air similar programmes again. Outside the CTV office, picketers chanted slogans such as "all Canadians equal rights" "Biased show, W5 got to go", and "black brown red, yellow and white, we Canadians must unite".

The protest march and picketing reversed the traditional stereotype that the Chinese Canadians were politically docile. The march itself attracted people from across the community, including a seventy-year old man who said, "I have been here for fifty-six years and I am very happy that, at last, we have the courage to stand up." One police inspector remarked that it was the best organized event he has seen in his career and that "if you guys ever want to do this again, I will be glad to help out."

The Toronto event received support and delegates from neighbouring cities such as Hamilton, Windsor, Guelph, Ottawa and Montreal. On the same day, the Ad Hoc Committee of Chinese Canadians Against W5 in Edmonton organized a similar rally and picket. 500 participants, including representatives from Calgary and Vancouver, joined the march in sub-zero temperature to the local CTV office.

The protest march was undoubtedly the climax of the W5 movement up to that time. The period that followed saw heavy emphasis on the organization of the Chinese community. Toronto's representatives eventually visited Chinese communities across the country and altogether sixteen ad hoc committees-- from Victoria to Halifax-- were formed.

The ad hoc committees continued to apply public pressure with complaints to provincial and federal Human Rights Commissions and a demand for a special CRTC hearing. Supporting these were 20,000 petition signatures gathered across the country.

Yielding to public pressure, CTV sought a meeting with Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee. In the meeting on February 5, CTV sought ways to repair the rift caused by the "Campus Giveaway" programme. Representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee reiterated their three demands and made known to CTV that their demands were firm.

On March 16, without consulting the Chinese Canadian communities, CTV aired what the producers of W5 presumably regarded as an apology. Helen Hutchinson, the show's hostess, read a statement on behalf of W5. Briefly, it said that "the programme upseted two groups of Canadians: the universities, which said the facts were inaccurate; and the Chinese Canadian community, who said the program was racist and cast slurs upon its members." It said that last November, CTV attempted to invite the Chinese Canadian community to present its point of view in a follow-up program. Finally, "W5 regrets any offence that may have been unintentionally given to the Chinese Canadian community." CTV also admitted to the error that the 100,000 foreign students number should have been 58,000 visa students at all levels of education.

Although it was seen as a welcome change of CTV's attitude, the statement did not satisfied the Chinese Canadian community. Mr. Siukeong Lee, coordinator of Montreal's Ad Hoc Committee wrote: "we do not consider the token gesture of CTV anywhere near a sincere and honest response." The chairman of Vancouver's Ad Hoc Committee, Patrick Chen, wrote in their press release that the statement is "wholly inadequate to redress the damage done by the story to the Chinese Canadian community and to the cause of multi-culturalism in this country..... The reasons for the protest are not acknowledged but rather ignored. The issues raised are studiously evaded. There is no indication in the statement that W5 really understands what was wrong with the story in the first place."

Dr. Donald Chu, chairman of Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee said that he was not aware that his group was ever invited to participate in the follow-up programme. "Even as late as January 26, the day of the protest march, W5's producers 'strongly disagree with the position of the marchers'", Chu said.

The March 16 statement further hastens the need for a more concerted effort among all cities and a coordination of pressure tactics at the national

level. The weekend of April 18-20 was chosen for a national meeting of all ad hoc committees in Toronto.

CTV and Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee met again on April 3. Mr Ian Scott, the committee's legal counsel as well as the legal counsel for the student plaintiffs, restated the concern of the Chinese Canadian communities. Informed sources revealed that it was during this meeting that the real issue -- that of racistly labelling Chinese Canadians as foreigners-- was finally brought home to CTV. Subsequent meeting on April 15 further brought the two parties close to agreeing on a settlement package. On April 16, negotiators from both sides sat down for a day-long session. That afternoon, CTV released a prepared apology to the public.

The apology, issued by the president and managing director of CTV Network, Murray Chercover, read in part: "We were clearly wrong in our presentation of the facts and W5's initial defence of the programme. Right after the programme was broadcast our critics -- particularly Chinese Canadians and the universities -- criticized the programme as racist: they were right, although it was never our intention to produced a racist program. There is no doubt that the distorted statistics combined with our visual presentation, made the programme appear racist in tone and effect. We share the dismay of our critics that this occured....".

Chercover vowed that CTV has instituted "a better system of checks and balances" and said that "we have also reviewed our editorial and management systems and changes have been made, both in those systems and in personnel."

In a joint statement issue by CTV and Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee, both parties announced that discussions between them have been fruitful and have produced a large measure of understanding and goodwill. "They have also resulted in a tentative settlement which both parties hope will begin to repair the rift caused between CTV and Chinese Canadians, and which would also be beneficial to our multicultural society as a whole." The settlement package involves CTV's pledge to make a program on "unconscious racism" in the 1980/1981 season's W5 series.

On April 18, barely two days after CTV's apology, representatives from sixteen ad hoc committees were welcomed by Mayor John Sewell to the national meeting in Toronto. The Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality, the first such national organization in Chinese Canadian history,was formed the next day. Dr. Joseph Wong, an active member of Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee was elected as its first chairman and received the mandate to form the Council's first executive committee in Toronto. On the following day, April 20, the newly formed Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality ratified the settlement package agreed between CTV and Toronto's Ad Hoc Committee.

At the press conference on Sunday, April 20, the new national council announced its purpose: to safeguard the dignity and equality of all Chinese Canadians and other ethnic groups in this country. CTV's apology was also formally accepted: "It takes courage to admit one's mistakes, we congratulate and salute CTV for their courage and greatness." Secretary of State Jim Fleming accused the media at the press conference of failing to understand the multi-racial and multi-cultural reality of Canada. He called on the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commision to alter its regulations so that it can act to prevent or redress racially biased programmes such as W5's "Campus Giveaway".

1000 persons joined in on Sunday night for a Chinese banquet and to listen to congratulatory speeches. Speakers that night included Secretary of State Jim Fleming, MP's Pat Carney of Vancouver-Centre and Bob Rae of Toronto's Broadview-Greenwood ridings, leaders of Ontario's Liberal and NDP parties Stuart Smith and Michael Cassidy, as well as other ethnic and media representatives. The CTV apology, came just four days before the banquet, had turned what was intended to be another anti-W5 gathering into a celebration banquet.

CTV's apology to the Chinese Canadians represented a turning point in this country's minority rights. For the first time in history, a major network has openly apologized to an ethnic community. For the first time in history, the politically docile Chinese community fought back for its equal right. Over the course of W5 controversy minority groups in the country have watched the events intensely-- because the outcome of the issue may well be a test case for furture racial relations. As Dr. Donald Chu said in the official response to CTV: "The successful resolution of this unfortunate incident is a testimony to the greatness of our just and democratic country."

Face to Face

With Camille Laurin

The following Face to Face *is a word by word transcript of a taped interview between* Asianadian *correspondent, Siukeong Lee and Camille Laurin, Quebec Minister of State for Cultural Development. The interview took place on March 16, 1980 at the Club Espano in Montreal.*

As architect of the PQ government's language and cultural policies, Monsieur Laurin has been regarded as one of the PQ government's fervent nationalists. Mr. Laurin was a psychiatrist prior to his becoming a politician.

What is the Quebec's government's cultural policy towards minorities?

Laurin: The Quebec government has stated its policy very well in the White Paper on Cultural Development. We stated that the cultural diversity of Quebec is a contribution to the progress and development of Quebec. And so we urge the cultural communities to develop their own community in conformity with their identity. And second, we have said that it belongs to them to state what they want, what they need for this cultural development. Third, we've said that after this is done, the Quebec government is ready to give to those various cultural communities the tools, the equipment-- cultural equipments necessary to achieve the ends or the aims they have set for themselves.

Could you elaborate on this?

For example, if the cultural communities tell us that in a particular sector they want to develop say a department of superior study at one of our universities to see what the Chinese cultural has done in Quebec and what it could do in the future, and if this entails the institution of a university department, we are very ready to accept that and take the steps with the University of Montreal or the University of Quebec to set up such a department. If the Chinese community need to develop a specific art form such as Chinese dance or opera (which I consider very valuable), we will be ready at the Department of Cultural Affairs to see what we can do about that. We consider these cultural developments and added increment to the overall cultural development of Quebec. But a project must be set up by the Chinese community first. But we don't want to define what they want or what they need. We can only ask them to take those responsibilities as a first step and only after we intervene, after we have come up with a dialogue and discussion can we be ready to make them share the wealth of Quebec. Only then can they have a share of this wealth because the Chinese community is a full fledge member of the society of Quebec.

At least two minority cultures of Asian origin (the Chinese and Japanese community cultures) in Quebec are being threatened in their efforts to survive. The Japanese have suffered by a myriad of factors originating from their World War II internment and the Chinese community has been threatened by the social and physical demolition of Chinatown. The construction of Place Guy Favreau *and the Convention Centre are two prime examples.*

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Given these facts, does the government have any specific policies to prevent the further deterioration of these cultures?

I would be very cautious to define precise solutions to the problems you've set up in front of me. I would much prefer the Japanese community to define, within themselves, exactly the solution. For example, to have the opinion of all the members of a community uniting under a single project and presenting this project to us would be beneficial. We would intervene at that level. But not before you have defined for yourself what you really need. Once this is done, I can say again that we will be extremely interested to concur and develop these particular projects.

Why should Quebecers of Asian origin participate in the Referendum campaign?

Because they are full fledge Quebecers. And if we can set up a political regime, an economic regime where the economy of Quebec will be strengthened; where expenses can be curtailed because they are useless; if we can develop policies that will eradicate or diminish the unemployment that we have, this would be good for the Chinese people as well as for all other Quebecers. The economic reasons for a "Yes" vote are the most important ones. Chinese, Quebecers of Chinese origin have to think over this because, after all, the economic understructure is fundamental for any kind of progress-- social progress, cultural progress. This is why we say that whatever the language, whatever the origin, everyone has to think deeply about the reasons favouring a "Yes" or "No" vote.

One current opinion is that if Quebecers of Asian origin vote "No", this would maintain the status quo *that is currently unjust and unfair to the minorities. If they vote "Yes", this would give political capital to the Parti Quebecois. What is your opinion on this?*

I don't think that the Chinese or the Japanese communities have profited so much from the federal regime. On the contrary, if we can set up a regime, a new regime where the economic well being of all Quebecers will be strengthened, in a spirit of liberty, in a spirit of respect for the cultural identity of all the communities of Quebec, I wonder what would remain as a real and true objection to a "Yes" vote.

You know that changes *have* to be made. The *status quo* is not good in itself. When the *status quo* does not benefit Quebecers, when it hinders the development of Ouebecers-- all the cultural communities of Quebec, then we have to think over the changes that *should* be made because the *status quo* has become insufficient. And this is why we urge all Quebecers to think it over. Changes are sometimes not only necessary, but urgent. They are urgent for economic as well as for cultural reasons.

In the government's White Paper on language policy, it was stated that the policy was to prevent cultural ghettos to appear in Quebec.

Yes, this is true.

Given this statement, has new developments justified the language bill since the passage of Bill 101?

Yes, I think Bill 101 has allowed those who speak English before, those who have started English schooling to continue as they have begun.

But, we said that for the new people coming to Quebec, it is necessary for them to go to the schools of Quebec-- French speaking schools. If they went to Ontario, they would go to an English school; if they came to Quebec, they must enrol in a French school because this is the school of the majority. And for their own benefit, their economic well being as well as their cultural development, they need to share in the language of the majority which is a social cohesive factor. This does not prevent the development of their own peculiar characteristics as a community group-- not at all. This is what is done in every country in the world-- so why shouldn't it be done in Quebec?

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Heritage Reruns

A "Prison" For Chinese Immigrants

Chuen-Yan David Lai

kate williams

The immigration Building, which was built by the federal government, was situated at the corner of Ontario and Dalls streets. While it was being demolished in November, 1977, the writer discovered that after he removed layers of paint from the walls, Chinese writings were exposed. Interviews with elderly Chinese revealed that some of them had been confined in the Immigration Building for one or two days or as long as a month or more. They recalled their misery and agony while they were "imprisoned" in the building. This story is to describe the physical layout of the Building, reveal its real function and translate some of the wall writing which recorded the inner feelings of the Chinese immigrants while they were detained there.

Physical Layout

The two-storeyed Immigration Building was surrounded by spacious lawns around which a low stone wall with iron bars on top was erected. Many of the building's structural features indicated that it was by no means an ordinary government office building. Its exterior walls were made of five columns of red bricks and measured slightly over twenty inches thick. According to a government engineer, it is unnecessary for an immigration building to have such thick, exterior walls unless it is used for a special purpose such as a prison. All the building's windows were barred with strong iron rods. On the forst floor, the reception room was windowless, dark and gloomy, and the dining room was enough to accommodate more than a hundred people. The second floor was partitioned by strong concrete walls into cells. Their doors opened to a central corridor which could be closed on either side by a strong iron gate. Wrought iron staircases and fire escapes leading to the first floor were enclosed by strong iron cage-like structures. A large kitchen was found in the basement where all openings were covered with heavyweight

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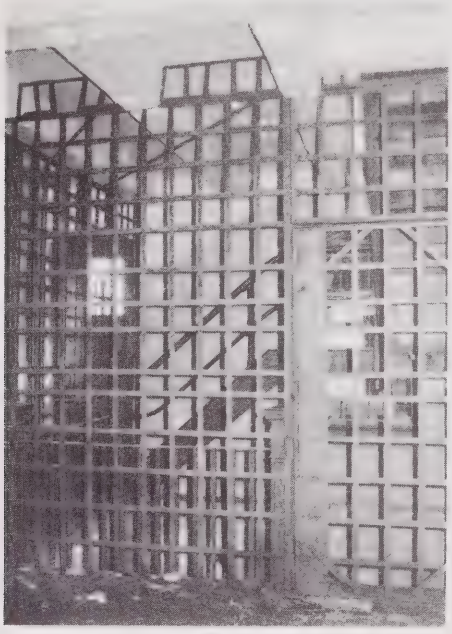
iron screens and bars. All these features indicate that the Immigration Building was by no means an ordinary federal government office building.



Function

The primary use of the Immigration Building was discovered after a search of the city records for sewage connections. The building was built in 1908 and designated to be used as a "Detention Hospital". (1) This explains why the building has unusually thick exterior walls and a prison-like layout. Interviews

with a former immigration officer and elderly Chinese in Victoria revealed that during the early days, Asian immigrants, mostly the Chinese, were detained under restraint in the building when they first arrived in Canada. (2) The Canadian government had to process the Chinese immigrants in Victoria as it did not maintain an immigration office in Hong Kong or in China. When a ship carrying Chinese passengers from Hong Kong arrived at Victoria, it would be moored at Rithet's Wharf from where the Chinese were escorted ashore and marched directly to the Immigration Building. Inside the building, they would be questioned, asked to pay their head taxes, and undergo medical examinations. If too many passengers arrived at the same time, they might be confined in the cells of the building for several days before they could be freed from custody. If they were found to be physically defective, having false statements in their application forms or without the $500. head tax, they would be confined in the

building until the next ship from Hong Kong came and took them back to China. After the Chinese were barred in 1923, the Immigration Building was used to process such other immigrants as the Filipinos and the Japanese.

Demolition

The Immigration Building ceased to be used after 1958 and was sold to Victoria Machinery Depot. In 1974 the Neighbourhood Improvement Project Committee of the City recommended the acquisition of the building for community use. This proposal was rejected, possibly because the building was considered to be too far away from the community to be used as a community centre. (3) When Harold Husband, President of Victoria Machinery Depot, applied to the City Council for permission to demolish the building, the James Bay Residents League immediately took up the cause of preserving it because they treasured it as a heritage area. (4) However, the building was not put on the heritage designation list by the City's Heritage Advisory Committee nor was it examined by the Heritage Conservation Branch of the then Ministry of Recreation and Preservation. (5) The James Bay Residents League thus failed to save the building from demolition which was completed at the end of 1977.

Wall Writings

The Immigration Building was notoriously known to the Chinese as *Chu-tsai-uk* (piggen). The term originated from the system of recruiting Chinese coolies for the Straits Settlements in the early 19th century. (6) Such a system savored of the buying and selling of pigs in a village fair. By a small advance in money or goods, a headman recruited workers (the 'piggies') from villages in South China, and took possession of the person as his merchandise. The 'piggies' were then shipped to Singapore or Penang where they were confined on board the vessel or in a lodging house

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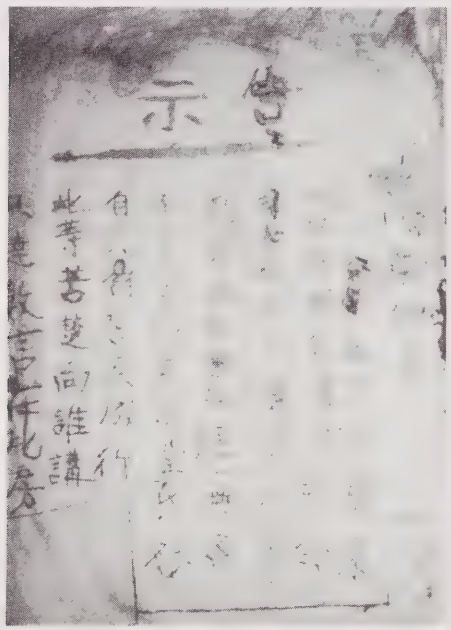
ashore until they were sold to those who needed labour. This kind of coolie trade was known as *Mai-chu-tsai* (the sale of piggies), and the lodging house was called *Chu-tsai-uk*. The Chinese immigrants to Canada were confined in the Immigration Building in Victoria, in a similar situation to those coolies in a lodging house in Singapore or Penang. Therefore, the name *Chu-tsai-uk* was coined for the building. After his visit of the building in February, 1923, Dr. Chilean Tsur, Chinese Consul-General for Canada, protested that the Chinese were "confined behind bars and fed poorly, and conditions... were better in some Chinese prisons than they were in the immigration sheds in Victoria." (7) In the early days, many Chinese in China dreamt of going to *Gim Shan* (Gold Mountain), to seek their fortunes. After they landed in Victoria, they were immediately confined in cells from where they could see their dreamland only through barred windows. As most of them had left their native villages for the first time and did not know English, they could not understand why they were incarcerated. Their shock and anger were expressed in writing on the walls of their cells. Based on this speculation, the writer asked the demolition workers whether they noticed any Chinese characters written inside the building. He then discovered that many of the writings has been painted over at least twice. Some of them became discernible after the paint was rubbed off. They are freely translated as follows:

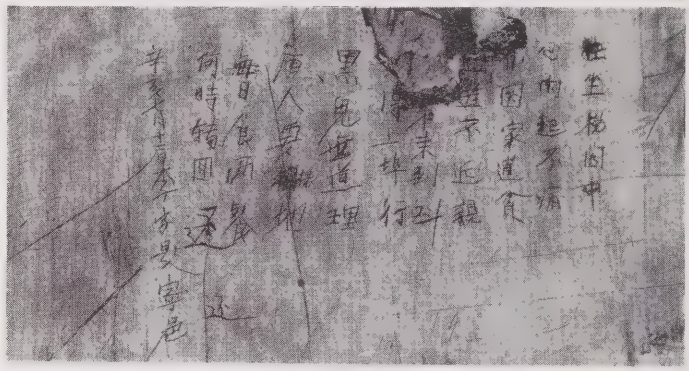
A notice written by someone from Hsin-hui county in Kwangtung province was carved with a sharp point on a column.

Fellow countrymen, read the following notice quickly:
Having amassed several hundred dollars,
I left my native home for a foreign land.
To my surprise, I was kept inside a prison cell!
Alas, there is nowhere for me to go from here,
I can see neither the world outside nor my dear parents.
When I think of this, my tears begin to stream down.
To whom can I confide my sorrow,
But to write a few lines in this room.



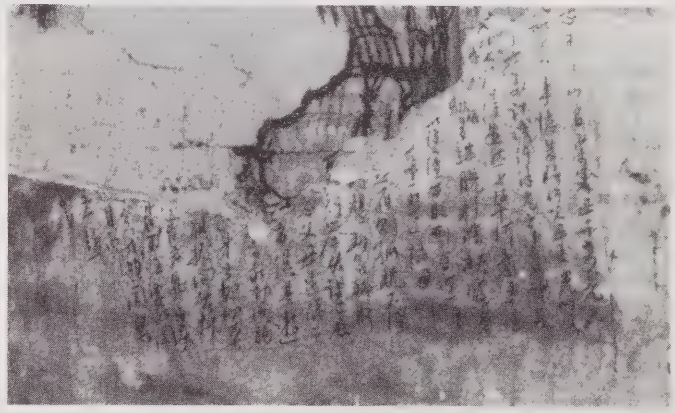
A person surnamed Lee from T'ai-shan county in Kwangtung province wrote a 'poem' and carved it on a wall on September 4, 1911.

Sitting alone in the Customs office,
My heart aches.
Had I not been poor,
I would not have travelled far away from my home.
I went abroad upon my brother's advice.
The black devil here is unreasonable
And forces the Chinese to sweep and clean the floor.
Two meals a day are provided
But I wonder when I will be homeward bound.



An anomymous person wrote a prose piece with Chinese ink which was uncovered after the paint was removed.

Leaving my parents, wife and children, I have come to the Gold Mountain because I am poor. By various means, I managed to gather a thousand and some odd dollars and bought my passage to Canada. Unexpectedly I was confined in the Customs Office where I was subjected to a medical checkup. They examined my eyes, forced me to strip to the waist and take off my pants to lay bare my body. What crimes have I committed? Why am I confined here like a prisoner? Sitting alone in the cell, I always think of my parents. My dear fellow countrymen, work hard here! After you are financially successful, return to your motherland and help build your mother country strong and rich.



Two 'poems' were carved with a sharp point on a wall in 1919.

I have always yearned to go to the Gold Mountain. But instead it is hell, full of hardships. I was

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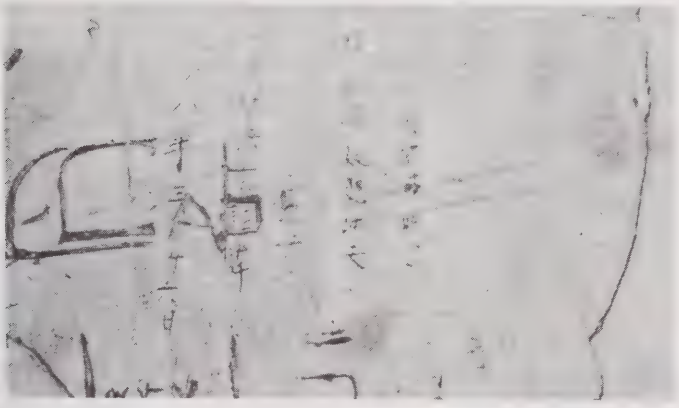
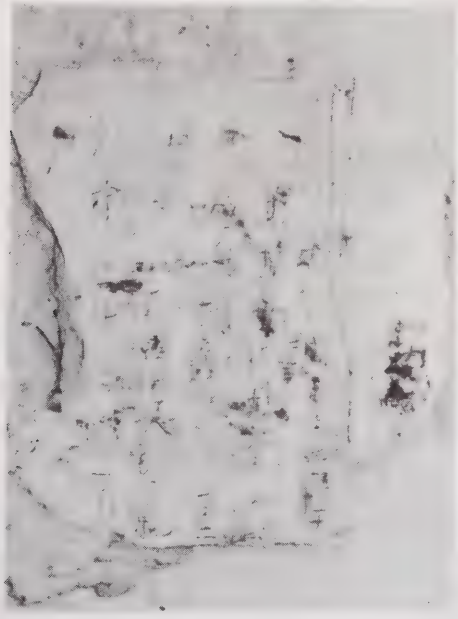
detained in a prison and tears rolled down my cheeks.
My wife at home is longing for my letter,
Who can foretell when I will be able to return home?
I cannot sleep because my heart is filled with hate. When I think of the foreign barbarians, my anger will rise sky high. They put me in jail and make me suffer this misery. I moan until the early dawn,
But who will console me here.



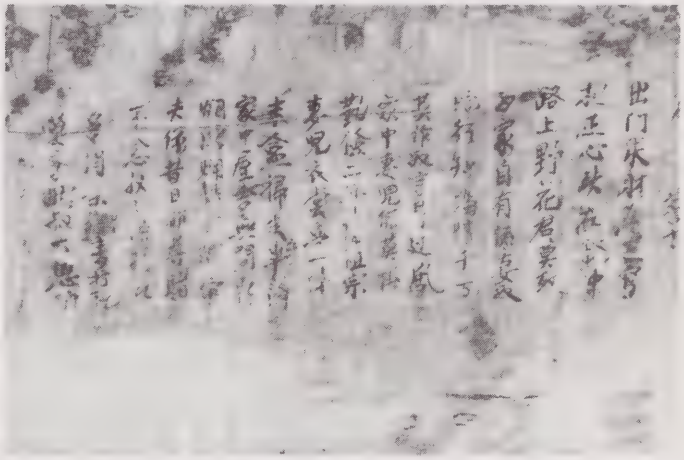
An anomymous person carved a 'poem' on a wall, and another 'poem' entitled "My Wife's Admonishment" was written in 1911 in Chinese ink on another wall.

I am in prison because I covet riches.
Driven by poverty I sailed here over the choppy sea.
Had I not had to labour for money,
I would already have returned home to China.



My Wife's Admonishment

You go abroad to seek wealth because we are poor.
In your sojourn, do not sow your wild oats.
Before you departed, I enjoined you to remember that you have a wife and children at home.
Please work diligently and be frugal with money.
Two year hence, return home to sweep your ancestor's tomb.
Remember, our backs are bare;
Not half a cup of rice can be scooped from the pot;
All our houseware is worn and torn;
Our house is dilapidated.
Your gambling has driven us to poverty.
In tears, I beg you to reprent.
You are fortunate to have an elder brother to pay your head tax.
Always remember your gratitude to him.



Conclusion

The Chinese writings on the walls of the Immigration Building reveal how the imprisoned Chinese felt, how they were treated and why they had emigrated to Canada. Although they may not have been physically abused, they must have been shaken psychologically by the incarceration experience. Along with the Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese and other Asian people who passed through the building doors also left their thoughts on the walls of the cells. Now that the building has been demolished, the inner anguish of the early Asian immigrants to B.C. through their writings have also vanished.

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Notes

1. *Application to Connect With Sewer*, Plan No. 3362, November 5, 1908, City of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.
2. Personal communication with Clifford Reid, a former immigration officer and a few elderly Chinese who did not want to be identified.
3. Janeda, A. "The Old Immigration Building," *Beckley Farm News*, I-3, September, 1977, p. 9.
4. An open letter to Mayor and Council by R.P. Hornby, President of James Bay Residents League, November 2, 1977.
5. Storey, L. "Ruin Doomed in James Bay," *Monday Magazine*, November 21-27, 1977, p. 7.
6. Campbell, P.C. *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries Within the British Empire* (Taipei: Ch'eng wen, 1970) pp. 2-7.
7. "Scores Treatment of Orientals in Victoria," *The Daily Colonist*, February 7, 1923, p. 1.
8. With the permission of the demolition workers' foreman, the writer cut off three pieces from the walls with Chinese writings for future display.

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Chuen-Yan David Lai teaches geography at the University of Victoria.

International forum

PALAKA POWER:
CULTURAL REVIVALISM IN HAWAII

by Dan Shimabuku

Like the Palaka cloth that protected our people against the wind, sun, dust, and the luna's (overseer's) whips, Palaka Power will protect the people's interests....

WHERE HAWAII CAME FROM

Hawaii, the Aloha State, was admitted into the union of the United States of America, as the 50th state, in 1959-- a commonly known bit of history. But what occurred to culminate in that much heralded event? The following can easily be gleaned from most general histories on Hawaii-- I used the Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume 11, 1973, and the Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition, Volume 14, 1970. And, if what you are about to read seems incredulous to you, go look it up for yourself!

A Sovereign Nation

It all began on that fateful day in 1778, when Capt. James Cook, an English navigator, landed on the beaches of Kealakekua Bay, and dubbed his new discovery the Sandwich Islands after his patron the Earl of Sandwich (himself a notable discovered, but of cuisine rather than people). Perhaps Capt. Cook ignited the natives into civil wars and eventual unification of all of Hawaii under the great warrior-king, Kamehameha I. After a long series of bloody campaigns, King Kamehameha I declared himself sole ruler and governor of the Hawaiian Islands in 1810. He was a just and strong king. It is said that during his reign, "the old, men and women, and little children could sleep safely in the highways."

His successors, Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III, forged Hawaii into a sovereign, internationally respected and peaceful nation. Hawaiian ambassadors were sent abroad to be received by heads of state of Europe and the United States. In 1839, the Declaration of Rights was established; it was Hawaii's Magna Carta. The Edict of Toleration was signed on June 17, 1839, and, on October 8, 1840, the Hawaiian Constitution guaranteed a representative body of legislators elected by the people, a civil

King Kamehameha The Great

court system and a Hawaiian Supreme Court. In 1842, the laws of the land were published. Hawaii's official motto was *Ua mauke eao ka aina i ka pono*, "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." The old feudal rules and polytheistic religion were cast aside for a new democracy founded on Christianity.

Tides of Colonialism

But Hawaii was too small a nation to withstand the tides of global colonialism. In 1887, King Kalakaua was forced to open Pearl Harbor as a naval station and coaling base. And on that rainy day of January 17, 1893, U.S. Marines walked up to the nation's capital, the magnificent Iolani Palace, and imprisoned Hawaii's most beloved monarch, Queen Liliuokalani, sister of the recently deceased King Kalakaua. Queen Liliuokalani, destined to die behind locked doors, was indeed a Pacific jewel thrust into the darkness of bodily enslavement. Yet her spirit soared as she composed, while in prison, lasting works of poetry and music which continue to stir the hearts of all native peoples of Hawaii.

Easily putting down a series of pathetic insurrections which surged on until 1895, the United States secured the Islands as their own. James Michener's *Paradise of the Pacific* was proclaimed a republic, with Sanford B. Dole as the "liberated" nation's new president. This is the same Sanford Dole who was Hawaii's pineapple baron. Almost the next day, President Dole, requested that the United States Congress annex Hawaii as a territory, and, of course, it immediately was.

The population of Hawaii grew and the native people soon began their rapid decline. Hawaii was converted into America's stronghold in the Pacific Ocean, and became the American back door to the Orient. Schofield barracks expanded to be America's largest permanent army post. Pearl Harbor was established as a major U.S. naval base by an act of Congress in 1908. There was no turning back, neither for the Hawaiians nor for any other of the countless diminishing breeds of humanity subjugated by colonial powers throughout the world.

So that's where Hawaii came from. Now, where is the State of Hawaii going? This question is exactly what motivated me to write.

THE MEANING OF PALAKA POWER

At the heart of this article is a 22-page pamphlet, entitled *Palaka Power*. It was written by my cousin, David Hagino, and widely publicized by his close friend and associate, John Waihee (see inserts). I can best characterize this inspiring pamphlet by quoting from its critics.

Anti-white?

Some may say the pamphlet is racist and anti-white. Peter Rosegg, Honolulu Advertiser Editorial Writer, pointed out: "looking to the future, some palaka advocates see the need for unity among non-whites here as Caucasians become the largest minority and edge toward a simple majority." "Some new people seem unaware of and uninterested in Hawaii's uniqueness. For them Hawaii is just a speck in the ocean with beach and good weather. They are not becoming part of the local identity of creating a new one, they just transport another place (often described as a *suburb of L.A.*) here."

Richard Borreca, Honolulu Advertiser Political

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Capt. Cook comes to Hawaii

Writer, perhaps understood the situation when he wrote: "Waihee explains that this is the basis of Oriental and Hawaiian thinking. The opposite, individual over the community, intolerance, disrespect for the land and a lack of commitment are all *western* ideas."

Some may view it all as subtly opportunistic. Jerry Burris, Honolulu Advertiser Political Writer, reported on December 17, 1978, soon after the state elections: "Freshman, State Representative David Hagino, D-12th District, sees himself as riding a historical wave that gained momentum during the 1960s and is about to crest as Hawaiian politics enter the 1980s."

New legislation proposed

In the pamphlet, circulated among fellow supporters and law students at the University of Hawaii, David Hagino proposed that the following positive measures be acted upon by the 1978 Constitutional Convention.

** We must ensure the preservation of the *'aina* (land). "We must control growth and population in Hawaii. If we continue to believe that we will always have water and energy, we will never seriously control our growth and population and the *'aina* will continue to be desecrated."

** Idle military land must again be of benefit to the people of Hawaii. "Lands currently held by the Federal Government that can be returned to the State should pass directly to the Hawaiian Homes Commission or to a Native Hawaiian Corporation to be composed of *all* Native Hawaiians who are residents of Hawaii.

** We must preserve the culture of native peoples. "The legislature should pass a tax on tourist related activities and the revenues collected shall be placed in a Hawaiian Preservation Fund to be used for the preservation and promotion of Hawaiian culture."

** We must have community control of our newspapers. The media should be accountable to the interest of local Hawaiians.

This is the meaning of Palaka Power. It is out of a passion for Hawaii and to preserve all which is truly Hawaiian that motivates local peoples like Hagino and Waihee to speak out, run for office, and push for new legislation. They are not militant activists or pawns of foreign powers, neither are they racists. They are purely and simply good Hawaiians.

But I still have not answered the question of Hawaii's future.

THE FUTURE

Let's face reality! Hawaii is no longer viable as an independent republic. Economically, politically and socially, Hawaii is too firmly tied to the rest of the United States. There is no turning back. Palaka Power is without substance because the destruction of the *'aina*, so feared by Palaka Power advocates, may already be beyond repair. These noble prophets are crying in the wilderness and the wolves are coming to devour them. Hawaii is already-- and

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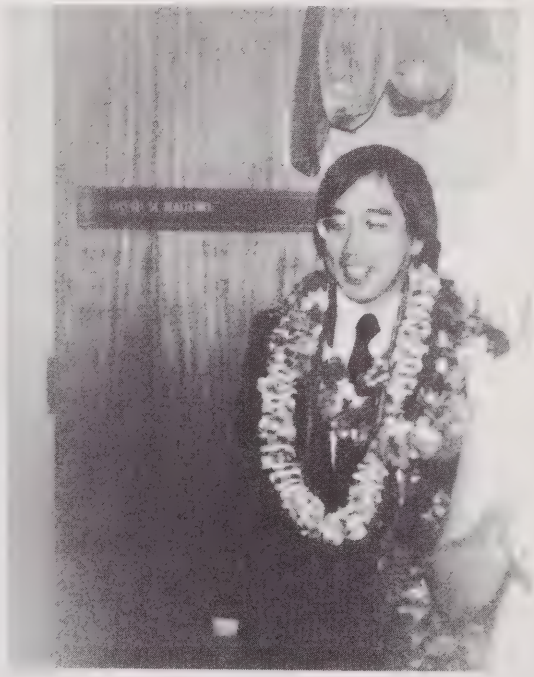
Iolani Palace

David Hagino, one of the main supporters of the Palaka Power ideology, is a Hawaiian of Japanese descent. After finishing law school in Missouri and a difficult period of travelling and soul-searching, Hagino is starting to make his mark on Island politics. A former student activist at the University of Hawaii, he was elected as a State Representative for a major district. As he once said, "If you have a goal of how society can be a little better, maybe politics can be an avenue toward that goal." Said Hagino, "I have a vision of what Hawaii could be like. There is a growing awareness among Hawaii's young people of what has happened to their culture."



David Hagino

John Waihee, III, is a native Hawaiian attorney at law. He is one of the several young native lawyers who are making a difference in Hawaiian society. His belief in the principle of Palaka Power runs deep. "The goal," said Waihee, "is to preserve what is best in Hawaiian culture, the ideal. It is importance placed on family relations and friends rather than impersonal or ideological ties that may place individual achievements above all else. It is the tolerant, non-confrontation style of getting things done." Asserts Waihee, "It is the notion of *aloha 'aina*-- that the land is a resource, a provider, rather than a commodity."

has been since approximately 1970-- a suburb of Los Angeles, a Californian footstool, a big backyard swimming pool of the United States. The demographic trends toward Mainland dominance appear unchangeable. The virtually complete indoctrination of the vast majority of local peoples in the virtues and pleasures of the *American way* results in the steady flow of local peoples from Hawaii to California and beyond. Success is defined as it should be, according to *western standards*, namely-- learn proper English, accept the *haole's* (whiteman's) concepts, make money, and, if that means leaving Hawaii, then by all means leave Hawaii! Hagino and Waihee are among the few good men who have resisted the Siren's of the Mainland.

A Coming Home?

But does this mean that Hawaii is doomed to be forever like California? I think not. At least I hope not. After reading the pamphlet on Palaka Power and receiving the comments of John Waihee and others, I am convinced that Hawaii and the Hawaiians will never die. Their cultural identity is still strong. Perhaps this *suburb of L.A.* can change again, and Hawaiian culture and society undergo a revival. As the collective consciousness of the people rises to meet those of the leaders of this new cultural awareness, we may see a coming home of the lost Hawaiians. Like the Jews, we can recapture our homeland and rebuild. And like the state of Israel, the kingdom of David (for us, Kamehameha) will be resurrected in spirit, while our real kingdom will be a modern state. The Hawaiian diaspora, beginning in the late 1950s, can be reversed. There is no turning back, but there can be a coming home. I see the scattered sons and daughters of Hawaii returning-- *returning to the place of their birth.*

David Hagino wrote these words:

> *Palaka is a strong cloth. It does not have the fragility or the sheen of silk. It represents the strength of our people. We were strong enough to break the grip of the Big 5* (representative of the Hawaiian plantation system), *to wage a bitter World War II, and to emerge from a depression. We will be strong enough to regain Kaho'olawe and to establish a unique culture for our children's children.*

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Dan Shimabuku, a native of Hawaii, received his Ph.D. degree from UCLA in 1978.

Separation: Bangladesh and Quebec

Timur Khan

1980 will be an historic year of decision for Quebec just as 1971 was for Bangladesh. While many similarities exist between the road to separation and independence of Quebec and East Pakistan, there are also important differences. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine the historical analogy between Canada and an unfortunate Asian country.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Bangladesh

Pakistan was envisoned by the philosopher-poet Mohammed Iqbal as consisting of contiguous Muslim parts of Northwest India. Eventually, Jinnah with overwhelming Muslim support created a unique country in 1947 at the time of India's independence. Pakistan was unique in two ways. First, it was a country created on the basis of the Islamic religion. Second, it was a country separated into two parts (West and East Pakistan) by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The West had four cultural groups while the East was predominantly Bengali in culture and language.

In the 1940 Lahore resolution of the Pakistan Muslim League (Jinnah's party), it was decided that there would be two separate sovereign Muslim states in India after the departure of British colonialists. One state was to be in Northwest India and the other in Northeast India. But the East Bengali Muslims themselves opted in 1946 for a single, sovereign Muslim state called Pakistan.

A federal state with a parliamentary system existed in Pakistan between 1947 and 1958. During this period were four provincial governments in the West and one for the East. After the collapse of several federal governments and continuous squabbling between politicians, the military strongman Ayub Khan took over in 1958 with popular support. This started a 13 year period of military dictatorship. Ayub Khan welded the four Western provinces into a "One Unit" so that only two provinces existed-- East and West Pakistan.

Between 1947 and 1958, economic development was considerably less than in the period of military rule. In the pre-military era, the East had some political influence at the federal level, but after 1958, the East was deprived of its political power in the central government located in the West (although the East had 55% of the population, it had only half the seats).

Since the Ayub regime followed the U.S. capitalist model of development, most new entrepreneurs were based in the West which invested largely in areas

Claude Sauvageot

with a good infrastructure. A majority of this investement went to the West-- in large urban centres like Karachi.

The Ayub regime accelerated the exploitation of East Pakistan by the West in terms of the imbalance in economic development and political power. It also created monopoly capitalists who regarded the East as primarily a good market for consumer goods from the West. Twenty-five families (mostly Westerners) controlled 80% of banking and 60% of industry in 1968.

In 1948, Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, declared Urdu (spoken in the West) as the only national language to a mass rally in East Pakistan. He was defiantly opposed by a student leader named Sheikh Mujib who eventually became founder of Bangladesh. Although Urdu, Bangla and English were the official languages in Ayub Khan's constitution of 1962, the East was, in practice, subjected to linguistic imperialism. While the Bengali working clas was forced to use Urdu for work and other purposes in the West, the sizable Urdu-speaking Bihari minority and Westerners in the East generally could not speak Bangla and their Bengali suborinates and co-workers had to use Urdu or English for communications. At the social level, the Westerners considered Bengalis as inferior and they were stereotyped as "lazy" or "they breed like rabbits".

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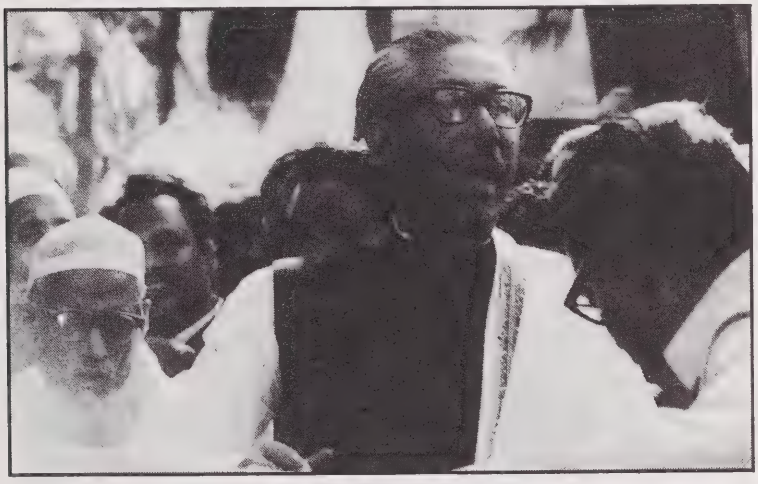
Ayub Khan Deposed

In 1969, Ayub Khan was swept away by mass protests both in the East and the West. General Yahya Khan took over and promised elections in December, 1970. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League party campaigned on a "6 points"



Mujib

platform. The "6 points" promised regional autonomy to the Western provinces and maximum autonomy and power for the East. It wanted the East to have an independent foreign trade policy, its own para-military forces and curbs on the outflow of capital from the East.

Just before the elections in November, 1971, history's most devastating cyclone struck East Pakistan and killed 30,000 people. This was, perhaps, the last straw for the Bengalis. They voted overwhelmingly for Mujib's party which had all its seats in the East and a majority in the National Assembly. Bhutto, the winner in the West wanted a "Grand Coalition" with Mujib who rejected this scheme. Bhutto was adamant. Yahya Khan hedged in transferring power to Mujib. Consequently, on March 7, 1971, Mujib stopped just short of declaring independence. Chaos reigned in the East. The Bengalis massacred many Biharis. Yahya panicked and unleased the military in the East on March 26, 1971. The Awami League was banned. Mujib was arrested and the army massacred many separatists. In November, 1971, India, supported by the U.S.S.R., invaded and "liberated" East Pakistan. It used the excuse that millions of Bengali refugees in India were creating a heavy burden on the Indian economy. Mujib ruled the Indian vassal state of Bangladesh from 1972 to 1975 when he and his entire family was massacred by the Bengali army. He could not solve the economic problems. Corruption reigned supreme. Although surrounded on three sides by a huge neighbour-- India, Bangladesh manages to have a somewhat independent foreign policy, especially since Mujib's death.

Quebec

The Old World French and English cultures were transplanted to what is now Canada in the 16th and 17th centuries. Along with this was their historical rivalry. But, the French culture had an inner resilience that made it survive through all the trials and tribulations of history. One other factor responsible for this was that the British essentially left the French Quebecois to mind their own affairs. This is a far cry

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from the French in Louisiana where the pressures of the "melting pot" have caused the French culture to virtually disappear.

In 1771, London created Upper (the Great Lakes region of Ontario) and Lower (the area of Quebec) Canada. Although Lower Canada had a higher population, both parts had equal seats in the legislature born out of the 1840 Act of Union. Moreover, Lower Canada had to share equally the substantially higher debt of Upper Canada.

The Confederation of 1867 joined Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into a new country-- Canada. The Quebec M.P.'s were rather divided about joining the Confederation. A large number-- 22 M.P.'s did not want Quebec to join while 27 wanted Confederation. Since the population of Quebec was never asked to state its preference, according to the Parti Quebecois, it is therefore necessary to have a referendum. Compared to the 1840 Union where Quebec had half the seats in the legislature, in 1867, Quebec had only 35% of Canada's population and the same percentage of the parliamentary seats. This represented an erosion of Quebec power. According to Quebec separatists, Quebec faced a three-fold threat to its political power and consequently its rights after 1867.

The Lost of Power

The growing Confederation acquired new provinces both east and west of Quebec which were all English-speaking. Quebec now faces 9 other English provinces.

While the 1867 Confederation gave considerable regional autonomy to the provinces, all new jurisdictions like nuclear power or telecommunications were usurped by Ottawa. The rest of Canada being English considers Canada as a "unitary" state while only Quebec has battled to preserve the "federal" structure.

Quebec's population is now 27% of the whole of Canada. By 2001, it will be 23% which means that 75 seats out of 325 in the parliament would still be allotted.

Before the 1960's, Quebec was subjected to political, economic, social and linguistic oppression by English Canada. Politically, conscription was forced on Quebec during the two World Wars. Economically, Ontario has benefitted by Confederation more than Quebec. The English control the economies in Quebec and the rest of Canada. The English minority in Quebec had all the better jobs while the Quebecois were the workers, clergymen, dentists and downtrodden of French society. Linguistically, the Quebecois were forced to speak English, even at the work place. The English generally did not bother to learn or to use French. In other provinces, French speakers were forced to use English as their working language. Socially, the Quebecois were stereotyped as "dumb", "lazy", "having too many children" and "inferior". The fact that the Quebecois were Roman Catholics was not a characteristic that endeared the English who were predominantly Protestant to them.

Bangladesh and Quebec: Differences

A host of parallels exist between Bangladesh and Quebec in terms of political, economic, linguistic, and social exploitation. But the important differences are:

** Bengalis were a majority while the Ouebecois are a minority in Canada.

** Canada has well-established political institutions. In Bangladesh, they are fluid and unstable.

** Canada is a First World country while Bangladesh is a Third World country in terms of economic development.

** The English-Quebecois rivalry has historic roots going back centuries. Rivalry between Bengalis and those in West Pakistan did not exist before the 1960's.

** East and West Pakistan were physically separated, but it is not so with Quebec and Canada.

** Foreign intervention is less likely to be a critical factor in Quebec's road to separation than was the case of East Pakistan.

Why Separate?

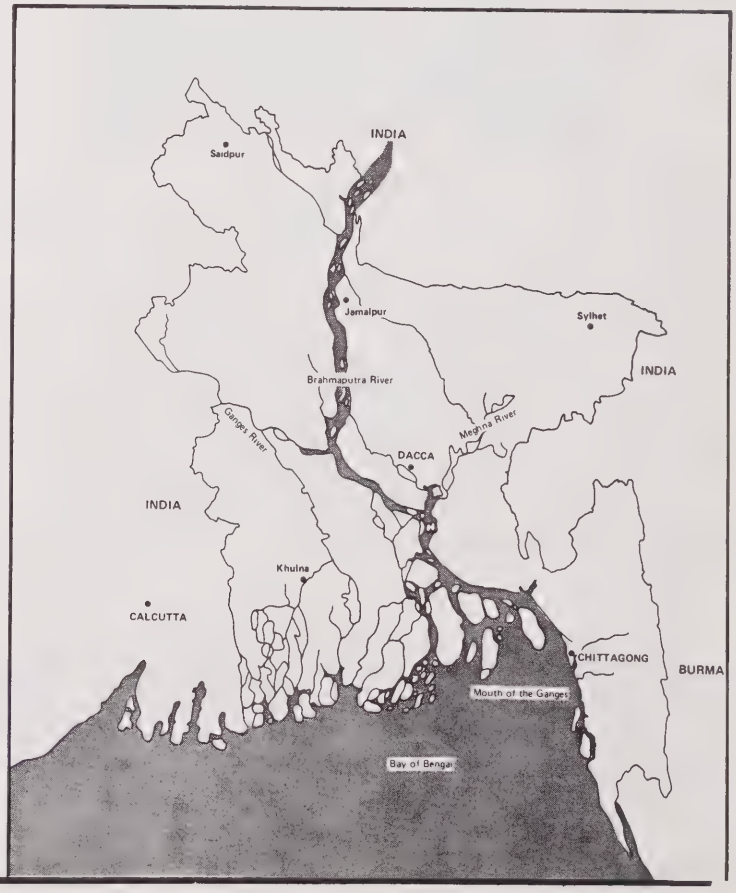
Although East Pakistan never really voted for independence, these arguments could have been used for separation:

** Once the Bengalis have political independence, they can preserve their culture, language and develop economically.

** An independent Bangladesh can survive on its own. It has adequate resources like jute and tea for export.

** The unity with West Pakistan is artificial in terms of the 1,000 miles separation. Such a geographical freak cannot survive for long. Moreover, Islam-- the basis of the country's creation is useless. No Islamic state exists in practice in Pakistan.

If East Pakistan did not separate, the West would have continued its exploitation of the East.



Similarly, Quebec separatists argue that:

** With Sovereignty-Association, Quebec can preserve its French heritage and protect its political and economic interests. It will be an equal partner with Canada.
** Quebec can survive on its own with its natural resources like hydropower, minerals and a well-trained work force.
** Without independence, Quebec is doomed to a minority status in Canada and the continuous nibbling away of its provincial powers by the centralizing thrust of Ottawa.

Why Not to Separate?

The federalist camp can likewise argue for its cause in Pakistan in 1970 to 1971.

** The physical separation of the two parts is not a major problem. Pakistan has managed to survive for 23 years and 2 wars with India
** It is the military dictatorship and the U.S. multinational model of development that are to blame for the misery of the East and not the West Pakistanis. West Pakistani masses and minority provinces have suffered equally.
** Bengali culture is not threatened. All films, T.V. and radio programs in the East are in Bangla.
** Separation led by Mujib's party will not solve the basic economic problems of East Pakistan. Moreover, "independence" from Pakistan would only mean dependence on India from where the East Pakistanis had already decided to separate in the partition of 1947.

Again, one hears these arguments against Quebec separation (Sovereignty-Association):

** Quebec was exploited in the past, but since the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960's, Quebec has managed to nationalize its hydropower and asbestos. Bill 22, Bill 101 and other bills have elevated the status of French and protected the cultural sovereignty of Quebec in areas such as T.V., radio and films.
** Quebec already has powers of taxation and it can have independent economic policies as well, e.g. the elimination of sales tax on clothing and shoes by Parizeau in the 1978 budget.
** The federal system helps Quebec by the "equalization" payments which are paid to poor provinces by using the surplus wealth of rich provinces.
** Only the recent Clark government had no representation in Quebec while previous Liberal governments relied on Quebecois support.
** The Ryan proposals can change the status quo further in favour of Quebec.
** Economic problems of Quebec like unemployment will not necessarily disappear after independence under the social-democratic policies of the P.Q.
** Increasingly, a great number of Quebecois are gaining higher education, getting top jobs and becoming entrepreneurs.
** French is Canada's second official language and the federal government can serve Francophones in their own language.
** *Of course, one powerful argument to preserve the country is the fact that in unity there is strength.*

"Sonar Bangla" or "Joie de vivre"

What Canada is experiencing now has been experienced by other countries like the U.S., Nigeria and Pakistan. Bangladesh was the only successful separation in modern history. After Western Australia in the 1930's Quebec is the second province in modern history where the people will vote on separation in a referendum.

In the passions, ideals and euphoria of the Bangladesh separation movement, the masses were fooled into believing that the West Pakistanis were totally responsible for their poverty, disease, cyclone disasters, and starvation. Political independence was considered a one and all panacea to their problems. History has proven that the Indian puppet (and by proxy-- pro-Soviet), "Bangla Bunhu" Sheikh Mujib made matters worst economically because of his middle class policies and pretensions from 1972 to 1975. "Sonar Bangla" (Golden Bengal), the utopia of Bengali idealists is still a dream! A truly socialist or Islamic socialist system could have prevented the exploitation and tragedy of East Pakistan.

In Quebec's case, sovereignty-association does not mean a break in the economic and defence links with Canada and the U.S. The only major change will be that to run his fiefdom, Rene Levesque and the PQ will have more political power and status (similar to Mujib's case). But, for the common masses, life will be the same as it is now. Here lies the appeal and also the emptiness of sovereignty-association!

The "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960's has actually snatched away the thunder of Quebec independence. The Quebecois are now at a cross road of history. The destiny of a nation will be decided by the collective voice of the people.

Political independence is really a myth because the big powers and their regional followers can easily manipulate the leaders and policies of a small and weaker country. Finally, political independence leading to economic independence and utopia is another myth!

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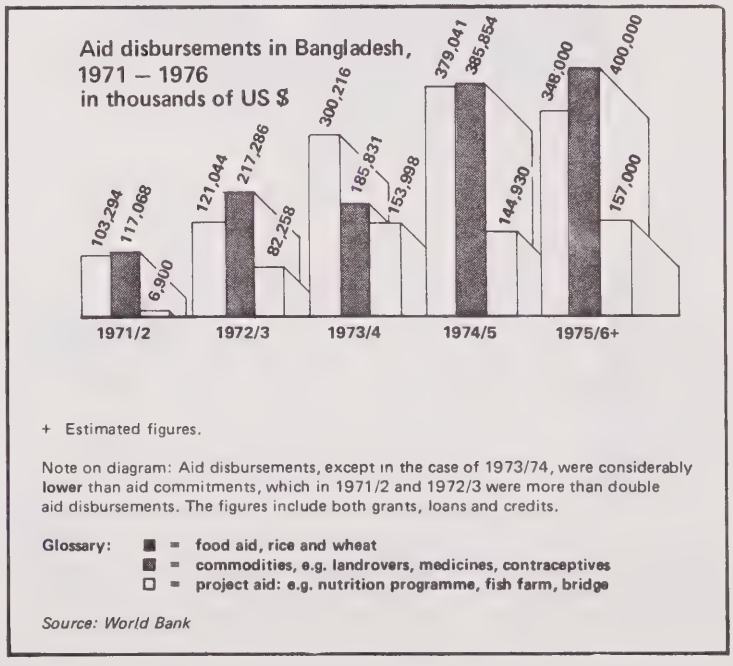
Timur Khan is a graduate student at McGill University.



+ Estimated figures.

Note on diagram: Aid disbursements, except in the case of 1973/74, were considerably lower than aid commitments, which in 1971/2 and 1972/3 were more than double aid disbursements. The figures include both grants, loans and credits.

Glossary: ■ = food aid, rice and wheat
▩ = commodities, e.g. landrovers, medicines, contraceptives
□ = project aid: e.g. nutrition programme, fish farm, bridge

Source: World Bank

Will Zacharie Be Chinese?

Germaine Wong

Ever since I have been of age to understand the physical differences between boys and girls, my mother has conducted an active campaign regarding the advantages of marrying a Chinese man. Cultural, linquistic and physical differences were analyzed and, of

course, the Chinese person rated highest among the races. The fact that I had arrived in Canada at the age of four and had spent twenty-six years of schooling and work among non-Chinese could not possibly dilute my "Chineseness". I look Chinese, therefore, I am Chinese. My problem was that I often forgot I was Chinese.

Children

What would the children be? This was my mother's main concern regarding mix-marriages. Speaking only Chinese, how would she communicate with a non-Chinese? Despite her constant efforts, the day came when I announced my intentions of marrying a non-Chinese. To my surprise, my mother was more relieved than upset. The fact that I was thirty was making her nervous. I suspected that it was better to have a "foreign" ghost for a son-in-law than an old maid of a daughter.

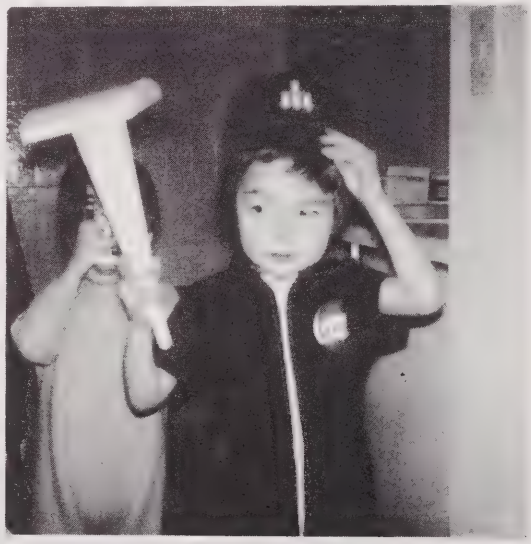
The introduction of a foreigner was the first serious challenge that my family faced. My husband's preference for Chinese food, his quiet nature and his efforts to learn Chinese won my mother's heart. Beneath the large nose, deep-set green eyes and fair hair, there lies a Chinese soul!

As time passed and family relations became stronger, the announcement of a child caused the normal commotion. My family hurriedly knitted, sewed, planned and waited. My thoughts evolved around other concerns. Ironically, I found myself hoping that the child would look Chinese and that he or she would be interested in the Chinese language and culture. As my mother was brimming with love for her future grandchild, I was becoming more and more obsessed with the question of cultural heritage.

My Zacharie

Zacharie came into the world on February 20, 1980. He has his mother's eyes and hair and his father's nose and mouth. I believe that he looks Chinese. Why am I so pleased about this? Maybe if he looks Chinese, he'll have a better chance of being Chinese.

But what constitutes being Chinese? Is it an adjective one inherits at birth or is it a conscious way



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of living? Foreign ghosts, pure cultures, melting pot, vertical mosaics, pluralistic societies: what do these expressions mean? Do they truly describe either the person or society or are they labels invented to facilitate identification? Whatever, I still hold the belief that all persons are basically alike. The cultural differences among peoples should provide infinite possibilities for rich exchanges rather than racial conflicts.

Maybe Zacharie will grow up to be an international person. That is, a person of all countries and none, of all faiths and none, of all cultures and none in particular. The choice is his. My concern and responsibility is that he will have the choice. My hope is that we as parents, family and friends will be able to provide as large a world for him as possible.

It is a very wonderful experience to see a "pure" Chinese family such as mine slowly disregarding barriers imposed by country and race. Being Chinese is no longer the only criterion for being a better person. My family has come to understand that a person is loved or disliked for reasons other than simply his or her race.

I do not claim that mix-marriages are the solutions to international conflicts, but I do say that not one culture is superior to another. The blend of one cul-

Cultural Blends

I do not claim that mix-marriages are the solutions to international conflicts, but I do say that not one culture is superior to another. The blend of one culture with another does not necessarily destroy either culture. Contrary to this, the possibilities of heightened sensitivities and appreciation do exist.

Cher Zacharie,

Je te souhaite de saisir la sagesse, afin de reconnaitre le bien et d'ignorer le mal. Que ton jardin soit riche et que ta recolte reflete l'univers.

*****

Germaine Wong studied film and was Director of Personnel of the National Film Board in Montreal.

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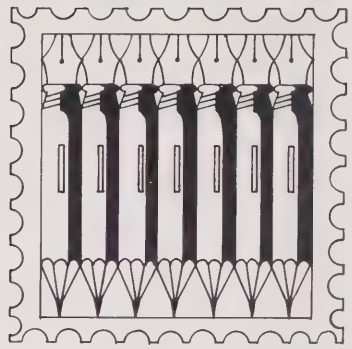

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on your latest issue devoted to political movements. The articles were diversely informative and very interesting, especially Maryka Omatsu's "Heritage Rerun" report on the War Measures Act.

The Act is best understood in the context of Canada's constitutional framework. As some of your readers may or may not know, our constitution contains nothing like the U.S. Bill of Rights, protecting a list of fundamental civil liberties from the legislative encroachment of the War Measures Act, and, indeed, many other federal and provincial acts. There are, certainly, provisions of the B.N.A. Act, our main constitutional document, which, to the extent that they cannot be amended unilaterally by any level of government, are guaranteed. But beyond this restriction on the amending power, Parliament and the legislatures would appear to be supreme within their allotted spheres. Nor does the federal Canadian Bill of Rights do anything to alter this situation, for it is an ordinary statute in no way part of the written constitution. It does not refer at all to the provinces and it leaves the federal Parliament free to set the Bill aside at its will. In addition, since its enactment in 1960, the courts, at all levels, have shown almost a total unwillingness to apply the Bill effectively to federal legislation (like the Indian Act) which is alleged to violate its provisions. As if that were not enough to render it almost nugatory, the War Measures Act itself enjoys the distinction of being the only example of a statute containing a "notwithstanding" clause (section 12) explicitly exempting its provisions from the Bill of Rights.

Please feature more articles like Ms Omatsu's that touch importantly on issues of civl liberties, of which all Asianadians and all other Canadians should be aware.

Verdun Featherstone
Toronto, Ontario

*****

Dear Editor:

We were very pleased to see Diane Yip's thoughtful review of 4 of "The World's Children" series of films, which our company produced this year. However, we did want to comment on Ms Yip's reservation about the films, that perhaps they portray a rather romanticized view of life in the 3rd world. She comments that there is no evidence in the films of "the ravages of war, starvation, malnutrition or disease that destroy the lives of thousands of third world inhabitants every year... ."

Unfortunately, stereotyped notions of third world countries being places of death, destruction, poverty, and disease have apparently found their way to all ages. Our feeling, in making our films the way we did, was that adults and children alike see and hear enough about the extreme situations in some developing countries. Kids grow up equating disasters and starvation with the third world. Well, that's only one side of the story. We wanted to film kids that perhaps were materially poor, but were active and healthy and bright and contributing members of their families-- and of their communities. ...

We wanted to et at the inter-dependency among us all by showing kids that N. American kids could learn things from. We wanted to close the gap a little, rather than widen it.

Heather MacAndrew,
David Springbett
Producers
"The World's Children"
Asterisk Film & Videotape
Productions Ltd
Toronto, Ontario

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Dear Editor:

As an Asian member of the so-called 'Anglo-left', and as a long time activist in Toronto's anti-racist movement, I consider T.T. Mao's "Asianadia and the Anglo Left" to be a very negative contribution to what up to now has been a positive effort by your collective. Not only is this article an attack on the Canadian working people, it also represents a dead-end for Asian people in Canada.

"T.T. Mao" shows a very false understanding of racism in his article. He refers to racism as "not a rational element, but an emotional facet of Anglo life that transcends all class lines". According to him, workers are in the "vanguard" of racist oppression. This is completely false. Racism exists in our society because the ruling class, the bourgeoisie actively propagates and develops this reactionary ideology. Racism lies at the very base of the capitalist system. It is used to super exploit Third World immigrants and to justify the denial of the rights of oppressed nationalities like the Natives, Blacks, and Chinese.

The fact that racism exist among white working people is not because of some innate ideas, but because it is perpetuated deliberately at all levels of education and in the media. It is no accident that the people who profit from exploiting and oppressing non-whites are the same people who own papers like the *Toronto Sun*, finance programs like W-5, and contribute to the racist National Citizens Coalition.

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In fact, the working class has a lot to lose from racism because it is used as a tool of division to weaken their struggle. It is no accident that each time the system is in crisis, there is a concerted effort to whip up racism to divert the workers' attention from the massive attacks made against their own hard-won rights. That is exactly the goal of the Kim Abbotts and the Helen Hutchisons-- to pit white working class people against non-whites and to shift the blame for the crisis. The author of the article has played right into the hands of those he claims to oppose-- the ruling class and has taken up their tactics of dividing the working people.

Another disconcerting aspect of Mr "Mao's" article is the contempt he shows for working people and their capacity to understand the fight against racism. Since I arrived in Canada 12 years ago, I have participated in many struggles along side white working people. I saw massive participation by whites in the fight against the racist Western Guard and against the racist immigration Bill C-24. At one demonstration in 1972, the participants were over 80% white, and I remember in 1973 a crowd of over 1000 people, many whites who filled the streets near my home to oppose a fascist celebration. Nor is this new in Canada. As far back as the Komagata incident in 1914, white people have participated in the struggle against racism.

I am not denying that racist ideology exists among working people. But we must be clear that our response must be education and not antagonism, unity in struggle based on equality, and not the bitter divisions that the author seems to want to perpetuate.

In that sense, I must take exception to the author's accusations that the "left" "exploits" the struggle against racism. First, let's be clear that the word "left" is a very vague term, that allows many distortions and mis-representations. For me, it is very cynical to take as an example of this "exploitation" the disruption of the October 14th (1979) demonstration (which I helped to organize) by the "CPC (ML)"

The main question remains that, without the "left" and the multi-national revolutionary movement, we cannot even talk about eliminating racism. It is not the politicians who show up every 4 years with election promises, nor the Carter reports and government commissions, that are going to solve the problem of racism. When we take up the struggle against racism we are not exploiting it but, on the contrary, situating it in its correct place, as part of the battle of all working people to get rid of the system. The education and mobilization we do around this question with people of all nationalities are laying the conditions to eliminate racism completely.

And there again, Mr "Mao" has tried to lead us up a dead-end street by dismissing any possible solution to racism. It seems that "a socialist order miraculously arrived" would mean no change for Asians, Blacks, and Native people. As I have pointed out, socialism does not and will not arrive miraculously but will come out of the struggle of working people of all nationalities for their emanicipation. And once in power, what interest does the working class have in maintaining racism and oppression? *None!!* On the contrary, its strives to insure full development and equality for all. The goal of socialism is to liberate all people, to develop a prosperous country, free of all forms of exploitation and oppression. There can be no room for racism in a socialist Canada.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that when we look as the real state of the anti-racism movement compared to Mr "Mao's" observations, I cannot keep from commenting on the discrepancies between the two. In fact the incredible growth of the anti-racist fightback has created excellent conditions for building unity among the very forces we need urgently to unite, i.e. the working class and the oppressed people of Canada. We have seen the development of that unity through the support for the Southeast Asian refugees, through support for justice for Albert Johnson and against W-5. To reject that unity at this point is to play directly into the hands of those who perpetuate and profit from racism. This should not be the role of *Asianadian*. Let's hear more in the future about how our struggle can move forward and how we can build a strong multi-national anti-racist movement. This is the real choice for our community.

Khurshed Wadud
Toronto, Ontario

*****

MR MAO SPEAKS

Certainly racism is a tool of the ruling elite. It manipulates and divides the working class. It manipulates, divides, and coops the ethnic minority with cushy government jobs and the opportunity to be the spokesperson of this ethnic group or that minority.

I do not disagree with Mr Wadud's contention that "the working class has a lot to lose from racism". One of the points which Mr Wadud apparently missed was that the media elite, especially in the W-5 program attempted to show to the working class, the Anglo or white working class what could happen to the opportunities for their children if the Asian work ethics has its way.

In the fight against racism, the Chinese communities across Canada have organized 16 Ad Hoc committees without the aid of the "left". From my participation in one Ad Hoc committee, I sense that the "left" would dearly love to coop this rising Chinese Canadian movement. The Chinese in Canada have now begun to show their political strength. The Ad Hoc committees are the first steps in creating a truly united Chinese community in Canada, and eventually a united Asian community. The "left" in its internal squabbles has been unable to unite its own forces, let alone the Asian or other ethnic minority forces. There is a new progressive force in Canada among the Asian communities, and it is not the "left"!

What disturbs me most about the "left" is its arrogance, especially in its attempt to dictate to such a magazine as *The Asianadian* what its role should or should not be. My views are simply the opinion of one person, not *The Asianadian*. My views comes from being an Asian born and raised in Canada who has witnessed the tragedies of racism on my working class family and friends. My views come from the historical realization of what has happened and what will happen.

Unity must be maintained. There is no question to that idea. But if an Asian political movement is to endured in Canada, it must be led by Asians and white friends of this movement must follow. The destiny of Asians in Canada can only be made by Asians. Nothing will stop our advance.

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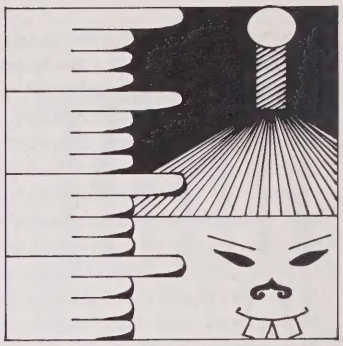
Dubious Award



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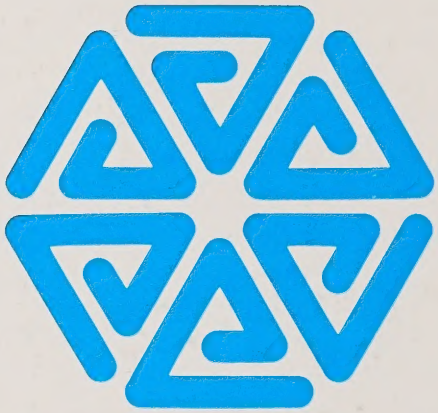

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